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THE

HISTORY

OF

ITALY,

Written in *Italian* by

FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI,

A Nobleman of *Florence*.

IN TWENTY BOOKS.

Tranſlated into ENGLISH by the

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Francesco Guicciardini's HISTORY OF The WARS in ITALY.

BOOK XVII.

THE CONTENTS.

The Pope, the King of France, *the* Venetians, *and the Duke of* Milan *confederate against* Cæsar. *Castle of* Milan *surrendered to the Imperialists, after some faint Attempts of the Army of the League, under the Duke of* Urbino, *to relieve it. War in* Lombardy *and* Tuscany. *Siege of* Cremona. Lewis *King of* Hungary *defeated and slain by* Solyman. Rome *surprised by the* Colonnas. *Pope makes a Truce with the Imperialists; and the Duke of* Ferrara *confederates with them.*

THE Deliverance of the King of *France*, tho' obtained under the solemn Engagement of Articles, the Religious Tyes of Oaths, and mutual

A. D. 1526.

A. D. 1526. Faith given between the two Princes, and a Band of a new Affinity, and all confirmed and ſtrengthened by the Pledge of two Sons, one of theſe the Firſt-born, and Heir apparent to ſo great a Succeſſion, ruled vaſt Expectations in the Chriſtian Princes, and diverted the Eyes of all Men, which before were only fixed on *Cæſar*, upon himſelf, very different and no leſs important Events depending on his obſerving, or not, the Treaty of *Madrid*. For if he obſerved it, all plainly ſaw that *Italy*, inſufficient to defend itſelf with its own Strength, was doomed to Slavery without Remedy, the Authority and Grandeur of *Cæſar* increaſing in a ſurpriſing Manner: If he ſhould not obſerve it, *Cæſar* would be under a Neceſſity, from the Non-obſervance of the King of *France*, either to forget the Plotting of the Duke of *Milan* againſt him, and reſtore him that Dutchy, that the Pontiff and *Venetians* might have no Cauſe to join with the King, and to loſe ſuch great Profits expected from the Victory; or, if he were more influenced by an Indignation conceived againſt the Duke of *Milan*, and a Deſire

Great Expectations from the King of France.

Deſire to have no Obſtruction from the *French* in *Italy*, to eſtabliſh an Agreement with the King, converting the Obligation of the Reſtitution of *Burgundy* into the Payment of a Sum of Money; or, finally, if he could not prevail with himſelf to ſtoop to either of theſe Expedients, be content to take upon his Hands a War from ſo many Enemies, tho' very difficult, as appeared in a manner by his own Confeſſion, ſince, in order to avoid it, he was obliged to releaſe, with ſo much Danger, the King of *France*. A. D. 1526.

But the Public was not long held in Suſpenſe concerning the Mind of the King; for being, as ſoon as he arrived at *Bayonne*, ſollicited by the Viceroy of *Naples* to ratify the Agreement, as he had promiſed to do as ſoon as he ſhould be in a free Place, he deferred it from Day to Day with various Excuſes. And by ſuch Means to nouriſh the Hopes of *Cæſar* he ſent a proper Perſon to ſignify to him, that he had not immediately made the Ratification, becauſe it was neceſſary, before he proceeded to that Act, to mollify the Spirits

A. D. 1516. of his People, who were discontented at the Obligations, which tended to the Diminution of the Crown of *France*; but that, in Spite of all Difficulties, he would undoubtedly observe all he had promised. Hence, it being easy to comprehend his Mind, a few Days afterwards arrived some Persons sent by the Pope and *Venetians*, who needed not to use much Diligence to assure themselves of his Inclination; for, having given them a generous Reception, in the first Conference which he had with each of them separately, he greatly complained of the Inhumanity with which the Emperor had used him at the Time when he was a Prisoner, not treating him in a Manner suitable to such a Prince as he was, nor with that Spirit which was becoming a Prince who had Commiseration of the Calamities of another Prince, or considered that such a Fate might as well have befallen himself. He quoted the Example of *Edward* King of *England*, him who was called *Edward Long-Shanks*, who, when *John* King of *France*, taken by his Son the Prince of *Wales*, at the Battle of *Poitiers*, was presented

King of *France* complains of the Emperor.

sented to him, not only received him courteously, but left him in free Custody all the Time he was a Prisoner in the Island, always familiarly conversed with him, and made him a Party in his Pleasures of Hunting and Feasting, nor did by this Means lose the Prisoner, nor obtain a less favourable Agreement for himself. Hence there grew so great a Familiarity and Confidence between them, that *John*, even after he had been set at Liberty, and had remained several Years in *France*, voluntarily returned into *England*, purely out of a Desire to revisit his Host. He only remembered, he said, two Kings of *France* who had been taken Prisoners in Battle, *John* and himself; but the Difference of the Examples was no less remarkable, since one might be alledged as an Example of the Courtesy, and the other might serve for an Example of the Austerity of the Conqueror: Nor had he found him of a more placable and gentle Disposition towards others, but, on the contrary, was assured from the Discourse which they had held together at *Madrid*, that, possessed with the Height of Ambition, he

A. D. 1526.

A. D. 1526. had no other Design than to reduce the Church, *Italy*, and all the other Princes into a State of Slavery: For which Reason it was his Desire that the Pope and the *Venetians* would seriously think of providing for their own Safety, since he would demonstrate to them how willing and ready he was to concur in the Defence of the common Safety, and to enter into a firm Alliance with them for taking up Arms against *Cesar*, not to receive the State of *Milan* for himself, or otherwise to increase his Power, but only that by means of a War he might obtain his Children, and *Italy* her Liberty. That *Cesar*, blinded by an excessive Covetousness, had not the Discretion to oblige him by such a Manner as that he should be bound to stand to the Capitulation; considering that both at first, when he was in the Castle of *Pizzighitone*, and afterwards in *Spain* in the Castle of *Madrid*, he had oftentimes protested to *Cesar*, after he had seen his iniquitous Demands, that if, constrained by Necessity, he should yield to unjust Conditions, which it was not in his Power to perform, he would not only not

His Reasons for not thinking himself bound by the Agreement.

A. D. 1126

not perform them, but, on the contrary, [illegible] himself as injured by him, in being bound to dishonourable and impossible Engagements, would not fail to revenge himself, if ever he had an Opportunity. For did he open frequently to inculcate what the Council ought to have known of themselves, and believed also to be common to other Kingdoms, that it was not in the Power of a King of *France*, to oblige himself, without the Consent of the States of the Realm, the Kingdom, to alienate any Thing appertaining to the Crown, as the Salique Law did not permit a Female to succeed. Wars to ransom or perpetual Imprisonment, because it was a Parliament or for Crimes capital, and never designed for such as are depressed by the Malice of Fortune. Every one knows that Obligations extorted by Violence in a Prison were of no Value, and the Capitulation being infringed, the Faith also which was accessary and confirmatory of it was no way obliged; That there were preceding Oaths to count *Rhetel*, where the Kings of *France* are consecrated with such a Multitude of Ceremonies,

A. D. monies, and with the celestial Oil, by
which they are obliged not to alienate the
Patrimony of the Crown. For these Rea-
sons he was not less than ready to
moderate the Insults of *Cæsar*.

This same Disposition appeared in the
King's Mother, and Sister, who,
because they had taken a fruitless Journey
to *Spain*, made great Complaints of the
Austerity of *Cæsar*, and of all the chief
Men of his Court who were concerned
in the Management of private Affairs;
and declaring, that after the Arrival of
Bull Powers from the Pope and *Fontius*,
a Conciliation would not be put to the
Lessons, which by this means they said,
was to create a *Division* for the better Con-
veniency of drawing in the King of *Eng-*
land to the *Antipope*, of which they
seemed to entertain great Hopes. Such
were the Talk of the King and his Minis-
ters at publick with great Advocations,
but in private far Thoughts were very dif-
ferent, for being wholly determined not
to yield up *Burgundy* to *Cæsar*, he was
also averse from entering into a War against
him,

him, who forced by Necessity, but, by A. D. 1526.
treating of a Confederacy with the *Italians*, he was in Hopes that *Cæsar*, to avoid running into so many Difficulties, would be induced to convert the Article of the Restitution of *Burgundy* into a pecuniary Obligation, in which Case no Regard to the Affairs of *Italy* would have withheld him from an Accommodation, for the Sake of having his Children restored to him.

But the Agents of the Pope and *Venetians*, having received such great Hopes from the King, immediately notified the Answer which they had obtained at a Time when both the Necessity and Opportunity of an Union against *Cæsar* in *Italy* were increased. The Necessity, because the Duke of *Milan*, who in the beginning, partly through the Faults of his Ministers, and partly for Want of Time to provide himself, had put but a small Quantity of Victuals into the Castle, and that little had not been distributed with that Frugality which is usual among Men in the like Circumstances, grew every Day more (for, though besieged in the Castle, he

A. D. 1526. he always found Means to write) that his Provisions would not hold out till the end of *June*, and that, if no Way could be found to supply him with more, he would be necessitated to surrender to *Lescun*'s Discretion. And though he was supposed to have exaggerated, as is usual with those who are besieged, the Distress beyond the Truth, yet there were many Reasons to think that his Provisions were short; and to let the Castle fall into the Hands of *Lescun*, besides increasing his Reputation, would render the recovering of that State much more difficult. But the Opportunity seemed to be no less increased, because all the People were reduced to the utmost Despair: For *Colla* sending no Money to pay his Troops, which were now many Payments in Arrears, and there being no Means of procuring it from any other Hands, the Generals had distributed the Men at Arms and the light Horse into Quarters all over the Country, charging this Town with finding Quarters for one Company, and that Town with quartering another; so that the Inhabitants, to exonse themselves from that Burden, were necessitated to

Duchy of Milan forely oppressed.

compound

compound with the Generals and Soldiers by Money, which was ſo rigorouſly exacted, that it was the conſtant Report at that Time, and poſitively aſſerted by many who were well verſed in the Affairs of that State, that the Dutchy of *Milan* paid each Day to the *Cæſarean* Army Five Thouſand Ducats, of which, as it is ſaid, *Antonio da Leva* received thirty Ducats for his own Share. The Infantry beſides, which was quartered in *Milan* and other Towns, not only expected to be wholly found in Diet by the Landlords of the Houſes in which they lived, but many times a Number of Foot aſſembling at the ſame Houſe the Maſter was obliged to provide Victuals for them all; other Houſes, not having the Means to ſupply them with Food, were conſtrained to compound with Money; and ſometimes it happened that the ſame Soldier had Quarters allotted him in different Houſes, one of which he choſe to find him in Diet, and from the reſt he exacted Money. A. D. 1526.

THIS miſerable Condition, and Oppreſſion exerciſed with ſuch great Cruelty, had

A. D. 1526. had made all the Inhabitants of the Dutchy quite deſperate, but eſpecially the People of *Milan*, who were never accuſtomed, before the Marquis of *Peſcara* had entered their City, to be burdened with finding Victuals, or contributing towards Quarters for the Soldiery, and being powerful in Number and Arms, though not ſo numerous as they uſed to be before the Plague, were unable to bear ſuch intolerable Inſolence, and moſt rigorous Exactions; and, therefore, to free themſelves from them, or, at leaſt, to have them moderated in ſome meaſure, the *Milaneſe* had ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, but had been diſmiſſed with an Anſwer in general Terms without any Redreſs. Nor was *Milan*, though burdened, according to its Proportion, with a greater Number of Soldiers than other Towns, excuſed from paying Money towards the public Expences, or ſuch Sums as happened to be charged by the Orders of the Generals for the Support of *Cæſar's* Government; and this Money being difficult to be raiſed, the Officers appointed for that Purpoſe were very ſevere in levying it. The People, by theſe

Pro-

Proceedings, being driven to the laſt Degree of Deſpair, agreed with one Conſent among themſelves to reſiſt the Exactions with A---s in hand, and that whoever ſhould find himſelf aggrieved by the Collectors ſhould call his next Neighbour to his Defence, all which, followed by others who were to be called, ſhould aſſemble together at the Command of Officers appointed in many Parts of the City for reſiſting thoſe employed in the Exactions, and the Soldiers who offered to favour them. After theſe Orders had been given, it happened that a Blackſmith in the Town, the Collectors being come to aſſeſs him, raiſed the Neighbourhood for his Defence, and thoſe next him being followed by a Concourſe of others of the Populace, the Tumult grew to a very great Inſurrection in all Parts of the City. To repreſs this Diſorder, and quiet the Minds of the People, *Antonio da Leva*, and the Marquis *dal Guaſta*, attended by ſome Noblemen of *Milan*, ran in all Haſte, and preſenting themſelves before the Multitude at laſt appeaſed the Tumult, but not till the General had promiſed that they would

A. D. 1526.

Tumult in *Mil.*

A. D. 1526. would be contented with the public Revenues, and not burden any one with other Impoſitions, nor increaſe the Number of Soldiers in *Milan*. This Agreement laſted but till the next Day, when Advice coming that new Soldiers were approaching towards the City the People flew to Arms, and in much better Order, and with a greater Concourſe, than the Day before. The Generals, beginning to doubt they ſhould not be able to reſiſt the Torrent of the popular Fury, had, as many affirm, an Inclination to depart with their Troops out of *Milan*; and it is believed that they would have put it in Execution, if the Peeple in one united Body had ſhewed themſelves in a Readineſs and Reſolution to attack them and the Soldiers: But they ignorantly fell to plunder the Old Court, where the Judge of criminal Cauſes with a certain Number of Foot reſided, making that the firſt which ought to have been the laſt Act of their Execution. From this Diſorder the Imperial Generals, reſuming their Courage, and having fortified the Streets, and called off moſt Part of the Troops that were

ſtationed

ſtationed at the Siege of the Caſtle, drew together in Order, ready to make Reſiſtance if the People offered to attack them. The Beſieged took this Opportunity to make a Sally out of the Caſtle, and attack the Trenches made on the Inſide, but ſoon retired, not ſeeing themſelves ſeconded by the People, who, partly for want of Experience in Arms, and partly from an Eagerneſs to carry to their Houſes the Goods they had plundered in the Old Court, not only omitted every proper Operation, but ſeemed rather about to break and diſperſe. The Generals laying hold of this Opportunity, with the Interpoſition of ſome of the Nobles, pacified alſo this Tumult, but with a Promiſe to remove all the Soldiers out of the City and Territory of *Milan*, except the *German* Foot that aſſiſted at the Siege of the Caſtle. Thus eaſily did the Policy of the military Men enable them to avoid a very great Danger, to elude the Efforts of a Populace unpractiſed in Arms, and to repreſs the Diſorders in which a tumultuous Multitude, deſtitute of prudent and valiant Leaders, eaſily involve themſelves. But A. D. 1526.

A. D. 1526. as the People neither broke off their Intelligences and Combinations, nor laid down their Arms, but rather every Day manifeſted a Diſpoſition to greater Commotions; ſuch a Juncture ſeemed to afford an Opportunity of very great Moment to thoſe who had a Deſign to embarraſs the Affairs of *Cæſar*, eſpecially conſidering the ſmall Forces and other Difficulties of the Imperialiſts, and remembering alſo that in the late War the ſurpriſing Ardor and Zeal which the People of *Milan* and of the other Towns had expreſſed in their Favour had been a very great Foundation for the Defence of that State.

SUCH was the Situation of Affairs in *Italy*, when Advices arrived from *France* of the ready Diſpoſition and Offers of the King, and of the Requeſt he made for ſending Commiſſioners: And at the ſame time the Ambaſſadors of the King of *England*, at the Court of *Rome*, were not wanting to ſtimulate the Pontiff to think on Methods for moderating the Greatneſs of *Cæſar*, and to hearten and encourage th

the King of *France* not to obſerve the Capitulation. On theſe Conſiderations not only the *Venetians*, who at all Times, and on much leſs Occaſions had adviſed the taking up Arms, but even the Pontiff, tho' it was with great Difficulty that he diſpoſed himſelf to engage in ſo troubleſome an Affair, judged himſelf obliged to ſum up all his Reaſonings, and no longer to delay coming to ſome Reſolution. The Reaſons which, ſome Months ſince, had inclined him to War, were not only the ſame, but even ſtronger and more conſiderable: For as, in proportion to the Length of Time which had been been ſpent in the Negotiations, *Cæſar* had been the better enabled to diſcover that the Mind of the Pontiff was averſe to his Greatneſs, ſo the Pontiff, by the Agreement which *Cæſar* had made with the King of *France*, had entered into a juſt Suſpicion that he ſhould not be able to obtain of him reaſonable Conditions, and that he had a Deſign to oppreſs the reſt of *Italy*; and the Danger was every Day the more imminent, as the Surrender of the Caſtle of *Milan* approached.

A. D. 1526.

Reaſons inclining the Pope to a War againſt *Cæſar*.

A. D. 1526. He was provoked by the repeated Injuries of the Imperial Generals, who, after the Capitulation of *Madrid*, had ſent a Regiment of *Italian* Foot to quarter in the *Piacentine* and *Parmeſan*, where they did infinite Damage; and the Pontiff complaining of it, they anſwered that they were come thither of their own Authority becauſe they were not paid. He was alſo diſturbed at Things perhaps more trifling, but interpreted, as it happens under Suſpicions and Complaints, in the worſt Senſe. For *Cæſar* having publiſhed in *Spain* certain Edicts againſt the Authority of the Apoſtolic See, by virtue of which his Subjects were prohibited to try Cauſes relating to the Benefices of thoſe Kingdoms in the Courts of *Rome*, a *Spaniſh* Notary had the Boldneſs to enter the Court of Chancery in *Rome* the Day appointed for hearing Cauſes, and to notify to the Parties, in the Name of *Cæſar*, that they ſhould deſiſt from pleading in that Court. And it did not only appear that, by the Releaſement of the Moſt Chriſtian King, the Knot was unty'd which had held the Minds of every one

in

in Perplexity, that the *French* would A. D. 1526. deſert the League for the ſake of recovering their King, and the Company of the King of *France* was known to be of much greater Importance to the Undertaking than that of the Mother and of the Government beſides would have been, but alſo the other Opportunities ſeemed greater; for the Inſurrection of the People of *Milan* appeared of no ſmall Moment, and from the Scarcity of Proviſions in that State it was judged that it would be of great Advantage to attack the Imperialiſts before they ſhould have the Convenience, by means of the Harveſt, to victual all the ſtrong Towns before the Caſtle of *Milan* ſhould be loſt, and *Cæſar* have longer Time to ſend Recruits and Money into *Italy*. It came under Conſideration alſo that the King of *France*, who, from the Memory of paſt Tranſactions, was probably diſtruſtful of the Pontiff, not finding in him any hearty Diſpoſition to the War, might reſolve to obſerve the Agreement made at *Madrid*, or confirm it anew. And it was not doubted but the Conjunction of ſuch great Forces by Land and by

A. D. 1526. Sea, with the Means for ſupporting the Charges, tho' burthenſome, for a long Time, would procure the Confederates a great Superiority in the Operations of the War over *Cæſar*, who was deſerted by all others, and exhauſted of Money. The only Scruple that pleaded to the contrary was the Fear the King would deſert the other Allies for regaining his Children, as the like Doubt had been raiſed of the Government of *France* when the King was a Priſoner. The Caſe however was reckoned different; for, by taking up Arms againſt *Cæſar*, under ſo many Advantages, the Hopes that the King would recover his Children by Force appeared ſo great, and the Succeſs would prove ſo highly to his Reputation, that he had no Cauſe to hearken to a particular Agreement, which would be not only attended with Diſgrace to himſelf, but turn out greatly to his own Prejudice, if not at preſent, yet certainly in Futurity. For by permitting *Cæſar* to reduce *Italy* under his Obedience, the Kingdom of *France* muſt at laſt be greatly endangered; from which Reaſon it was likewiſe inferred, that he would think himſelf obliged to engage in the War with the greater Vigour, ſince it muſt be the Reſult of a very weak Counſel to con-

federate

federate againſt *Cæſar*, and by that means to deprive himſelf of the Recovery of his Children by obſerving the Agreement, and yet, on the other hand, neglect the Purſuit of ſuch Meaſures as would put him in Hopes of glorioufly obtaining their Redemption by Force of Arms. *A. D.* 1526.

THOSE who reaſoned in this Manner conſidered perhaps more what was fit and reaſonable to be done, than the Genius and Prudence of the *French*; an Error, which is certainly oftentimes incurred by the Conſultations and Judgments that are paſſed on the Wills and Diſpoſitions of others: Or rather, perhaps, they have not perfectly conſidered how eaſily Princes, who are often conſcious of their own Inclination to prefer Intereſt to Faith, perſuade themſelves of the ſame in other Princes; and that on this Motive the King of *France* ſuſpecting that the Pontiff and *Venetians*, as ſoon as they were ſecured from the Power of *Cæſar*, by the Conqueſt of the Dutchy of *Milan*, would diſregard, or become averſe to his Intereſt, judged the Length of the War more expedient for his Purpoſe than the Victory, as the more likely Means to induce *Cæſar*, tired and

A. D. 1526. exhauſted with Troubles and Expences, to reſtore him his Children by a new Agreement. But the Pontiff, moved by the foregoing Reaſons, but much more by repenting that he had ſat idly waiting the Succeſs of the Battle of *Pavia*, and had been cenſured and reproached for his Timidity by every Body, by the Cries of all his Miniſters, of the whole Court, and of all *Italy*, which laid to his Charge that the Apoſtolic See, and all *Italy* had been reduced to ſuch a dangerous Situation thro' his Fault, reſolved at laſt not only to enter into a Confederacy with the King of *France* and with the others againſt *Cæſar*, and to haſten the Concluſion of it, as well for other Reſpects, as eſpecially that Proviſion might be made in Time for relieving the Caſtle of *Milan*, before it ſhould be conſtrained by Famine to ſurrender to the Enemy.

Pope reſolves to enter into a War againſt *Cæſar*.

THIS Neceſſity was the Cauſe of all the Calamities that followed; for otherwiſe, by proceeding more ſlowly, the Pontiff, on whoſe Authority the *Venetians* had no ſmall

ſmall Dependence in that perplexed Juncture, might have waited to ſee whether *Cæſar*, provoked by the Non-obſervance of the Capitulation by the King of *France*, would propoſe, for the common Security, thoſe Conditions which he had drawn up before, when he had been neceſſitated to take up Arms; and, not being conſtrained to ſhew himſelf to the King of *France* under ſuch great Neceſſity, he would have obtained of him better Conditions for himſelf and for the *Venetians*. But without doubt the Articles of the Confederacy ſhould have been more diſtinct, the Security for the Obſervance better eſtabliſhed, and at laſt the War ſhould not have been commenced before the *Swiſs* had been put in Motion, and all the neceſſary Proviſions actually in Readineſs; and perhaps the League would have been ſtrengthened by the Acceſſion of the King of *England*, with whom they had no Time to treat on account of the Diſtance. But it appearing to the Pope and to the *Venetians* that it was of the higheſt Importance to be expeditious, on account of the Danger of the Caſtle, they immediately, tho' very

A. D. 1526.

A. D. 1526. very privately, diſpatched away Orders to their Agents to conclude the Confederacy; and, for the greater Expedition, they were referred, with little Variation, to the ſame Articles which had before been debated with the Regenteſs. But freſh Advices continually arriving of the Diſtreſs of the Caſtle, the Pontiff began to conſider that, becauſe the direct Road from *Rome* to the Court of *France* was ſtopped, it was neceſſary to ſend the Diſpatches a long Way about thro' *Switzerland*, and that ſome Difficulties might eaſily ariſe in capitulating, which would unavoidably take up ſo much Time as might happen to retard the Concluſion of the Confederacy ſo long that, if the Proviſions for the Succour of the Caſtle were deferred till after the Treaty was ſigned, it was to be feared that they would come too late. Conſulting therefore on this dangerous Point with the *Venetians*, who were preſſed alſo by the Agents of the Duke of *Milan* reſiding in *Rome* and *Venice*, and by many of his Partiſans, who propoſed divers Schemes, it was reſolved to prepare ſuch a Force as might appear ſufficient to relieve the Caſtle,

and

and to employ it for that Purpoſe as ſoon as they ſhould have Advice from *France* of the Concluſion of the League, and in the mean time to encourage the People of *Milan* with Hopes, and to foment various Conſpiracies, Schemes of which had been laid before them, in the Towns of that State. Wherefore it was jointly concluded that the *Venetians* ſhould order the Duke of *Urbino* to march with all Expedition to their Frontiers towards the River *Adda*, with their Men at Arms, and Six Thouſand *Italian* Foot; and that the Pontiff ſhould ſend Count *Guido Rangone*, with Six Thouſand Foot, to *Piacenza*. And becauſe it appeared neceſſary to have a large Body of *Swiſs*, no leſs than Twelve Thouſand, as the Duke of *Urbino* ſignified to the *Venetians*, in order to obtain a compleat Victory; and the Pontiff and the *Venetians*, being cautious of diſcovering themſelves ſo openly againſt *Cæſar* before they were certified that the League had been ſigned, were willing to ſend into *Swiſſerland* Agents of their own to levy them, they hearkened to *Gianjacopo de' Medici*, a *Milaneſe*, who had been Gover-

A. D. 1526.

Preparations of the Pope and *Venetians*.

nor

A. D. 1526. nor of the Caſtle of *Mus*, but taking Advantage of the Times, and being well acquainted with the Strength of the Place, had made himſelf Lord of that Fortreſs. He informed them that ſome Months before he had held Correſpondence with ſeveral *Swiſs* Officers for that Purpoſe, and offered, on the receipt of Six Thouſand Ducats, immediately to put in Motion a Body of Six Thouſand *Swiſs*, not levied by Decree of the Cantons, but privately, who muſt receive the Complement of their Pay as ſoon as they were deſcended into the Dutchy of *Milan*. And as it happens in Enterpriſes which on one hand are accounted eaſy, and on the other puſhed forward by the Straitneſs of Time, not only this Man's Offer, eſpecially being approved by the Miniſters of the Duke of *Milan*, and by *Ennio*, Biſhop of *Veruli* (whom the Pope intruſted with the Affairs of the *Swiſs*, becauſe he had long managed them in the Name of the Church, and therefore had, by his Order, reſided many Months at *Breſcia*, andat that Time attended the *Venetian* Proveditor, whence he was continually treating with

with many of that Nation) was, without further Conſideration, accepted by the Pope and *Venetians*, but alſo Credit was given in *Venice* to the Propoſal of *Ottaviano Sforza*, Biſhop of *Lodi*, who offered to raiſe a great Number of *Swiſs* with Eaſe, and was immediately, by the Senate, without otherwiſe conſulting the Pontiff, diſpatched to *Swiſſerland*, to raiſe Six Thouſand more in the ſame Manner, and with the ſame Payments. The Want of a right Underſtanding in thoſe Affairs was one main Cauſe, as will appear hereafter, of confounding an Enterpriſe which was ſet on foot with ſo fair a Proſpect of Succeſs. A. D. 1526.

BUT while theſe Preparations were making in *Italy*, *Cæſar*, beginning to entertain Suſpicion from the Delays interpoſed to the Ratification, ſent Orders to the Viceroy of *Naples*, who with the Hoſtages and Queen *Eleonara* had ſtopped at the Town of *Vittoria*, in order to conduct them to the King as ſoon as he had fulfilled the Articles of the Capitulation, to repair, in Company with

Alarcone,

A. D. 1526. *Alarcone*, to the King of *France*, who was removed from *Bayonne* to *Coignac*, and thoroughly to inform himſelf of his Intentions. Though the Viceroy was received with very great Honour and Careſſes, both as the Miniſter of *Cæſar*, and as the Perſon to whom the moſt Chriſtian King acknowleged himſelf in a great meaſure indebted for his Liberty, he found him quite averſe from parting with *Burgundy*, ſometimes excuſing himſelf by pretending that it would be almoſt impoſſible for him to obtain the Conſent of the Kingdom, ſometimes alledging that he would never have freely conſented to a Promiſe which was ſo highly prejudicial to the Crown of *France*, that it was not in his Power to fulfil it. But as he was deſirous of maintaining the Friendſhip begun with *Cæſar*, and to perfect the Affinity, he would be content, all other Matters reſting on the ſame Foot that had been agreed between them, to pay unto *Cæſar*, inſtead of giving him *Burgundy*, Two Millions of Crowns, profeſſing that nothing elſe induced him to confirm, with this Moderation, the Confederacy

King of France refuſes to yield Burgundy.

A. D. 1526.

federacy made at *Madrid*, but the great Inclination that he had to live in good Correſpondence with *Cæſar*, ſince he did not want for Offers and Incitements from the Pontiff, from the King of *England*, and from the *Venetians* to renew the War. This his Anſwer and his ultimate Reſolution both the Viceroy ſignified to *Cæſar*, and the King ſent one of his Secretaries to *Madrid* to make the ſame Declaration. Hence it proceeded that, tho' the Commiſſioners of the Pontiff and the *Venetians*, ſo much before deſired, arrived at the ſame Time, yet the King, more inclined to an Agreement with *Cæſar*, and therefore determined to expect an Anſwer to this new Expedient, of which the Viceroy had given him Hopes, began openly to delay the Concluſion of the Confederacy, not wholly diſſembling, becauſe it was impoſſible to keep it ſecret, that he was treating of a new Agreement with *Cæſar*, which having been propoſed to him by the Viceroy, it could do no Hurt to hear it, but giving ſtrong Aſſurances, tho' he had reſolved otherwiſe in his Mind, that he would come to no Concluſion

A. D. 1526. Concluſion if the Reſtitution of his Children were not attended with the Evacuation of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the Security of all *Italy*. This Demur would have been ſufficient to ſtrike a Damp upon the Spirits of the Pontiff, if his Suſpicions had not taken ſuch faſt Hold of him, that he could not but imagine that a Confederacy with the King of *France* was the only Remedy for his Affairs.

But it is very ſurpriſing and almoſt incredible how mightily *Cæſar* was diſturbed in Mind on receiving Advice from the Viceroy, confirmed by the Declaration of the *French* Secretary; for it grieved him extremely to relinquiſh his Hopes of recovering *Burgundy*, highly deſired by him for the Augmentation of his Glory, and of the Conveniency of that Province for greater Attempts. He was in a great Paſſion with the King of *France*, who, by violating his Promiſes, and forfeiting his Word of Honour which he had given him, gave a manifeſt Demonſtration to all the World that he deſpiſed him. And he was touched to the quick with a Kind of Shame for having, contrary

contrary to the Advice of almoſt all thoſe about him, contrary to the unanimous Opinions of his whole Court, contrary to what had been foretold, after being adverti-ſed of the Agreement from *Flanders*, by the Princeſs *Margaret*, his Father's Siſter, and againſt the Judgment of all his *Italian* Miniſters, by making a wrong Eſtimate of the Importance and Condition of Affairs, perſuaded himſelf that the King of *France* could not fail to obſerve the Agreement. In the Midſt of theſe troubleſome Reflections recollecting himſelf, and diligently calculating what was ſuitable to his own Dignity, and in what Dangers and Difficulties his Affairs might yet, in any Caſe, remain involved, he determined not to alter the Article that mentioned the *Reſtitution of Burgundy*, but rather agree with the Pontiff, and conſent to reinſtate *Franceſco Sforza*, as thinking it more becoming him to pardon a leſſer Prince, than, by yielding to the Will of a potent Prince, and one jealous of his Greatneſs, to betray a kind of Fear; and chuſing rather to engage in a moſt dangerous War againſt him, than forgive

A. D. 1526.

A. D. 1526. the Injuries he had received from the King of *France*. For he doubted that the Pontiff, ſeeing his Friendſhip deſpiſed, had totally alienated his Affections from him; and his Suſpicion was increaſed on being informed that he had not only ſent a Perſon to *France* to congratulate the King, but had publicly ordered thither an Ambaſſador; and ſtill much more becauſe His Holineſs had newly enliſted into his Service, under Colour of ſecuring the maritime Ports of the Church from the *Moors*, *Andrew Doria*, with Eight Gallies, and a yearly Penſion of Thirty-five Thouſand Ducats. This Agreement, conſidering the Quality of the Perſon, and that the Pontiff had never before thought of a maritime Force, and becauſe *Doria* had been ſeveral Years in the Pay of the King of *France*, excited a Jealouſy that it was made with an Intention to raiſe Diſturbances in *Genoa*. Wherefore, preparing himſelf for all Adventures, he made at once a Multitude of Proviſions, and haſtened the Paſſage of the Duke of *Bourbon* into *Italy*, which before had been retarded; ordering that his Seven

Gallies

Gallies which lay at *Monaco* ſhould ſail from *Italy* to *Barcelona*, to join with ſome others; and taking Care that he ſhould carry with him into *Italy* a Supply of One Hundred Thouſand Ducats, becauſe his going thither without Money was of no Purpoſe. He appointed Don *Ugo di Moncada* to be diſpatched to the Pontiff, with a Commiſſion, as he publicly gave out, to give him Satisfaction; but this was under Limitations, for it was deſigned that he ſhould go firſt to the Court of the King of *France*, with a View that, getting Intelligence of the Viceroy whether there were any Hopes that the King would obſerve the Agreement, he might then either proceed no farther, or, if he proceeded, that his Inſtructions ſhould be altered according to the State and Exigencies of Affairs. But to every ſalutary Counſel of the Pontiff was oppoſed the Danger of the Surrender of the Caſtle of *Milan*, which was now reduced to the greateſt Extremity, with the Fear that by ſome Means or other a Conjunction might be eſtabliſhed between the King of *France* and *Cæſar*, and the Uncertainty of what might be the

A. D. 1526.

A. D. 1526. Conſequence of the Coming of Don *Ugo di Moncada*, which gave Room for Suſpicion in that he was firſt to call at the Court of *France*, and tho' he ſhould proceed to *Italy*, the Diſſimulation and Artifices of the *Spaniard* were to be ſuſpected afterwards. Wherefore the Pope, together with the *Venetians*, ſolliciting the Concluſion of the Confederacy, the King at laſt, after he had been convinced by the Coming of Don *Ugo di Moncada* that *Cæſar* was averſe from altering the Articles of the Capitulation, fearing that his longer Delay to enter into the League might induce the Pontiff to new Reſolutions, and judging that by this Confederacy his Affairs would appear to *Cæſar* in a more advantageous Light, and that Fear might perhaps in ſome meaſure bend his Mind, and render him more flexible, ſtimulated alſo to the ſame Purpoſe by the King of *England*, who more by Perſuaſions than Effects promoted the Concluſion of the Treaty, caſting away all other Thoughts applied himſelf ſolely to the Buſineſs of the League, which at length on the Seventeenth Day of *May*, 1526, was concluded between

between the King's Deputies of the Council on one Part, and the Agents Plenipotentiaries of the Pontiff and of the *Venetians* on the other, importing: A. D. 1526.

League between the Pope, King of *France*, and *Venetians*.

THAT between the Pontiff, the King of *France*, the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Milan*, for whom the Pontiff and the *Venetians* engaged themſelves for his Ratification, there ſhould be a perpetual League and Confederacy, for the Purpoſe of cauſing the Dutchy of *Milan* to be left free to *Franceſco Sforza*, and of procuring Liberty to the King's Children: That the League made ſhould be intimated to *Cæſar*, and that it ſhould be in his Power to enter the ſame within the Term of Three Months, on reſtoring to the King his Children, receiving for their Liberty a reaſonable Ranſom, which ſhould be determined by the King of *England*, and alſo on leaving the Dutchy of *Milan* entirely in the Poſſeſſion of *Franceſco Sforza*, and the other States of *Italy* in the ſame Condition as they were in before the Beginning of the laſt War: That at preſent, for the Relief of *Franceſco Sforza*, beſieged in the The Articles.

A. D. 1526. Caſtle of *Milan*, and for the Recovery of that State, the Campaign ſhould be opened with Eight Hundred Men at Arms, Seven Hundred Light Horſe, and Eight Thouſand Foot for the Pontiff; with Eight Hundred Men at Arms, One Thouſand Light Horſe, and Four Thouſand Foot for the Share of the *Venetians*; and with Four Hundred Men at Arms, Three Hundred Light Horſe, and Four Thouſand Foot to be provided by the Duke of *Milan*, as ſoon as it lay in his Power, and in the mean time the Pontiff and *Venetians* were to furniſh out the Four Thouſand Foot for him: That the King ſhould immediately ſend into *Italy* Five Hundred Lances, and during the War ſhould pay every Month to the Pontiff and *Venetians* Forty Thouſand Crowns, with which *Swiſs* Infantry ſhould be raiſed: That the King ſhould immediately take the Field againſt *Cæſar*, on the other Side of the Mountains, on what Quarter ſhould appear moſt convenient, with an Army of at leaſt Two Thouſand Lances, and Ten Thouſand Foot, with a ſufficient Train of Artillery: That he ſhould fit out Twelve Light Gallies,

lies, and the *Venetians* Thirteen at their own Charges: That the Pontiff ſhould join with theſe the Gallies which he had hired with *Andrea Doria*: That the Charges of the Ships neceſſary for the ſaid Fleet ſhould be in common; and that the Fleet ſhould ſail againſt *Genoa*: That, after the *Cæſarean* Army in *Lombardy* ſhould be overthrown or weakened, a powerful Attack ſhould be made both by Sea and Land on the Kingdom of *Naples*, with which, after its Conqueſt, the Pontiff might inveſt King whom he thought fit; but it was provided, in a ſeparate Article, that it ſhould not be in his Power to diſpoſe of it without the Conſent of his Allies, retaining however the ancient Tribute accuſtomed to be paid to the Apoſtolic See, and a State in his Gift of the Revenue of Forty Thouſand Ducats: That to ſatisfy the King of *France* that the Victory which ſhould be obtained in *Italy*, and the Acquiſition of the Kingdom of *Naples* would facilitate the Releaſement of his Children, in ſuch a Caſe, if *Cæſar*, within Four Months after the Loſs of that Kingdom, ſhould think fit to enter the

A. D. 1526.

A. D. 1526. Confederacy on the Conditions abovementioned, it ſhould be reſtored to him; but on his Refuſal the Kingdom of *Naples* ſhould be bound, for Perpetuity, in an annual Tribute to the King of *France*: That the King of *France* ſhould not, at any Time, nor for any Cauſe, be at Liberty to moleſt *Franceſco Sforza* in the Dutchy of *Milan*, but, on the contrary, ſhould be obliged, together with the Allies, to defend him againſt every one, and to procure, as much as lay in his Power, a new Confederacy between him and the *Swiſs*; but ſhould receive of him a yearly Tribute, to be determined by the Pontiff and the *Venetians*, tho' no leſs than Fifty Thouſand Ducats: That *Franceſco Sforza* ſhould take to Wife a noble Woman of *French* Blood, at the King's Choice; and ſhould be obliged to maintain in a handſome Manner his Brother *Maſſimiliano*, in room of the yearly Penſion which he received from the King: That the County of *Aſti* ſhould be reſtored to the King, and that, on the Recovery of *Genoa*, he ſhould have the ſame Superiority in that

City

City as he had enjoyed in Times paſt; and that if *Antoniotto Adorno*, the preſent Doge, thought fit to accede to the League, he ſhould be accepted, but on acknowledging the King of *France* for his Superior, in the ſame Manner as had been done a few Years before by *Ottaviano Fregoſo*: That all the Members of the Confederacy ſhould requeſt of *Cæſar* the Releaſement of the King's Children, and, on his Refuſal, it ſhould be denounced to him, in the Name of them all, that they would omit no Means for procuring it: That as ſoon as the War ſhould be finiſhed in *Italy*, or at leaſt the Kingdom of *Naples* ſubdued, and the *Cæſarean* Army ſo much weakened that it could not create any Apprehenſions, they ſhould be obliged to aſſiſt the King beyond the Mountains, againſt *Cæſar*, with One Thouſand Men at Arms, Fifteen Hundred Light Horſe, and Eleven Thouſand Foot, or with Money inſtead of Troops, at the King's Choice: That no Member of the Confederacy ſhould have the Liberty, without the Conſent of the others, to make an Agreement with *Cæſar*, who ſhould be permitted to make a Progreſs

A. D. 1526.

A. D. 1526. greſs to *Rome*, in caſe he entered into the Confederacy, for the Imperial Crown, with a Number of Troops not formidable, but ſuch as ſhould be directed by the Pontiff, and *Venetians*: That, in caſe of the Death of any Member of the Alliance, the League ſhould remain firm; and that the King of *England* ſhould be Protector and Conſervator of the ſame, with Liberty to enter into it, and, if he entered, a State ſhould be aſſigned him in the Kingdom of *Naples* of the yearly Revenue of Fifty-three Thouſand Ducats, and one of Ten Thouſand, either in the ſame Kingdom, or in another Part of *Italy*, to the Cardinal of *York*. The Pontiff refuſed to have the Duke of *Ferrara* comprehended in this Confederacy, tho' it was deſired by the King and the *Venetians*; but, rather on the contrary, he obtained that in the Confederacy it ſhould be expreſſed, tho' in general Terms, that the Confederates ſhould be obliged to aſſiſt him in the Recovery of thoſe Towns which were in Diſpute between the Duke and the Church. As to the *Florentines*, there could be no Doubt but that they were, in effect, comprehend-

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ed in the Confederacy, the Pope deſigning not only to make uſe of their Men at Arms, and of all their Forces, but alſo to make them concur with him, and even to ſuſtain the greateſt Part of the Expences of the War; but, not to diſturb the Commerce which thoſe People held with the Towns ſubject to *Cæſar*, or endanger their Merchants, they were not nominated as Principals, it being only ſaid that, out of Reſpect to the Pontiff, they ſhould enjoy all the Exemptions, Privileges, and Benefits of the Confederacy as much as if they were expreſly comprehended in it, the Pope engaging they ſhould in no manner oppoſe the League. The Allies had not provided themſelves with a Captain General for the Conduct of the Army and of the War, becauſe the Shortneſs of the Time would not allow them to debate on an Officer who by his Authority, Quality, and the Confidence they could all repoſe in him, was qualified to undertake ſo great a Burden, it not being eaſy to find a Perſon in whom was a Concurrence of ſo many Conditions. *A. D.* 1526.

THE

A. D. 1526.

THE League being ſtipulated, the King, who had not yet wholly caſt off all Thoughts of treating with the Viceroy, delayed to ratify it, and to begin with putting his Men at Arms in Motion, and remitting the Twenty-five Thouſand Ducats, till the Arrival of the Ratification of the Pope and *Venetians*, who, tho' diſturbed in Mind at this Delay, yet, being puſhed forwards by the ſame Neceſſities, after Ratification, reſolved to begin, with all Speed, the Operations of the War, under the Pretence of a Deſign to ſuccour the Caſtle of *Milan*. For this End the Pontiff, who had before ſent Count *Guïdo Rangone*, Commander in Chief of the Army of the Church, with his Men at Arms, and Five Thouſand Foot to *Piacenza*, ordered thither a Reinforcement of Foot, beſides the *Florentine* Men at Arms under *Vitello Vitelli*, their Commander, and *Giovanni de' Medici*, whom he appointed Captain General of the *Italian* Infantry, and declared *Franceſco Guicciardini*, at that time Preſident of *Romagna*, his Lieutenant General in the Army,

Franceſco Guicciardini promoted by the Pontiff.

Army, and in all the State of the Church, with very full and almoſt abſolute Power. On the other hand the *Venetians* augmented their Army, of which the Duke of *Urbino* was Captain General, and *Piero da Peſaro* Proveditor, and which was encamped at *Chiari* in the *Breſcian*, and both Armies were ordered to begin Hoſtilities againſt the *Cæſareans* without any Regard or Delay. *A. D.* 1526.

In the mean time arrived at *Milan* Don *Ugo di Moncada*, who, tho' the Signing of the League was as yet a Secret to the Vice-roy and himſelf, yet, doubting from the Anſwers of the King, that Affairs could not be accommodated to *Cæſar*'s Satisfaction, had purſued his Journey to *Italy*, where, taking with him into the Caſtle the Protonotary *Caracciolo*, he gave ample Aſſurances to the Duke of *Cæſar*'s Benignity, and endeavoured to induce him to ſubmit himſelf to his Will. But the Duke anſwering that he had been neceſſitated by the Injuries which he had received from his Generals to have recourſe to the Aſſiſtance of the Pontiff and *Venetians*, without whoſe

Don *Ugo* treats with the Duke of *Milan*.

A. D. 1526. whoſe Participation it was not in his Power to diſpoſe of himſelf, Don *Ugo* gave him Hopes that it was *Cæſar*'s Intention that the Matters with which he was accuſed ſhould be examined in a ſummary Manner by the Protonotary *Caracciolo*, a Prelate in whom he could intirely confide, pretending that this was done rather for reſtoring him the State with the greater Preſervation of *Cæſar*'s Credit, than for any other Reaſon, and that, as ſoon as he had conferred with the Pontiff, he would diſpatch theſe Affairs. He did not however conſent that the Siege ſhould firſt be raiſed, nor promiſe to make no Innovation, as the Duke inſiſted. It is believed, and ſo it was afterwards reported, that the Powers given by *Cæſar* to Don *Ugo* were very ample, not only of agreeing with the Pontiff, by the Reſtitution of the Dutchy of *Milan*, but alſo with the Duke, on his giving Security that, after he was reſtored to his State, he would do no Injury to *Cæſar*'s Intereſt; but that this Commiſſion was with a Limitation to what ſhould be ſuggeſted by the Times and Neceſſities, and that Don *Ugo*, conſidering

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to what Extremity the Caſtle was reduced, and that to make an Agreement with the Duke would be of no Benefit to *Cæſar*'s Affairs, but as it ſhould be a Means of eſtabliſhing an Agreement with the Pontiff and *Venetians*; judged it of no Uſe to make an Accommodation with him alone. A. D. 1526.

After this Don *Ugo* and the Protonotary cauſed *Morone*, who was impriſoned in the Caſtle of *Trezzo*, to be conducted to *Moncia*, rather with a Deſign that the Protonotary ſhould get Information from him, as he was to be Judge of the Cauſe, than for any other Reaſon. From *Milan* Don *Ugo*, after this, ſet out for *Rome*, having firſt written to *Venice*, requeſting the Senate to ſend ſufficient Authority to their Ambaſſadors at *Rome* to enable him to debate on the preſent Occurrences. Being arrived in that City he preſented himſelf, together with the Duke of *Soſſa*, before the Pontiff, and declared to him, in haughty Expreſſions, that it was in his Power to accept of Peace or War; for tho' *Cæſar*, from his good Diſpoſition, was rather inclined to Peace, he

A. D. 1526. he was however, in his Mind and Forces, prepared for either. To this the Pope having anſwered in general Terms, that he was ſorry that the ill Uſage of *Cæſar*'s Miniſters, and the Slowneſs of Don *Ugo*'s Coming had been the Cauſe that, whereas before he was his own Maſter, he now was under Obligation to others, they returned the next Day, and declared to him that it was *Cæſar*'s Intention to leave the Dutchy of *Milan* in the free Poſſeſſion of *Franceſco Sforza*, provided the Caſtle was depoſited in the Hands of the Protonotary *Caracciolo*, till ſuch Time as, for the Honour of *Cæſar*, the Cauſe ſhould be examined, not to the Bottom, and ſubſtantially, but in Appearance, and by way of Ceremony; and that he was willing to terminate the Differences with the *Venetians* by a fair and reaſonable Method, and to remove the Army out of *Lombardy*, with the Payment formerly debated, for which Compliances he required nothing of him in Exchange, but only that he would not intermeddle in Affairs between him and the King of *France*.

Cæſar's Propoſals to the Pope.

To

To this Propoſal the Pope anſwered, That he believed it was known to all the World how much he had always deſired to live in Friendſhip with *Cæſar*, and that he had never demanded greater Matters of him than thoſe which he himſelf voluntarily offered, which, as he was more concerned for the common Good than for his own Intereſt, could not be better calculated for his Satisfaction; that he now continued in the ſame Sentiments, tho' he had met with many Reaſons to alter them; and yet that he heard at preſent with greater Concern of Mind that his Demands might be granted, than he had felt when they were refuſed, becauſe it was no longer in his Power, as it had been before, to accept of them, which did not proceed from his Fault, but from *Cæſar*'s delaying ſo long to come to a Reſolution. This Delay had been the Cauſe that, having no Hopes ever given him of ſecuring the common Affairs of *Italy*, and in the mean time ſeeing the Caſtle of *Milan* more and more diſtreſſed, he had been neceſſitated, for his own Safety, and that of others, to confederate

A. D. 1526. Pope's Anſwer.

A. D. 1526. with the King of *France*, without whoſe Participation, as he was not willing to be deficient in obſerving his Engagements, it was not in his Power to come to any farther Determination. In this Anſwer, notwithſtanding many Replies to the contrary, the Pontiff conſtantly perſevering, Don *Ugo* departed from *Rome* in Diſcontent, as well as the Imperial Generals, on finding all Hopes of a Peace vaniſhed, and all Things tending to a manifeſt Rupture, which, on account of the Power of the League, and the diſorderly Condition of their own Affairs, they imagined would be very difficult for them to ſupport.

AT this Time the Pope's Lieutenant intercepted Letters from *Antonio da Leva*, to the Duke of *Seſſa*, informing him of the evil Diſpoſition of the People of *Milan*, and that there was no other Remedy for their Affairs but the Grace of God; and alſo Letters from him and from the Marquis *del Guaſto* to Don *Ugo*, after his Departure from *Milan*, in which they expreſſed their Sollicitude concerning the Treaty of Agreement, and were inſtant

with

with him to let them know ſpeedily what Progreſs he had made in it, putting him in Mind of their Danger, and that of *Cæſar*'s Army. But there was not ſo much Confidence in the Minds of thoſe who had the Management of the Forces of the League as there was Fear in the Imperial Generals. For the Duke of *Urbino*, who muſt be conſidered as having, in effect, the ſole Direction of the Armies, on account of his Title of Captain General of the *Venetian* Troops, and becauſe he had not his Equal in Dominion, Authority, and Reputation, having a higher Opinion, perhaps, than was juſt of the Valour of the *Spaniſh* and *German* Troops, and diſtruſting beyond meaſure the *Italian* Soldiery, had firmly reſolved not to paſs the River *Adda*, before he had in his Army at leaſt Five Thouſand *Swiſs*; nay, what is more, being apprehenſive that, if he ſhould paſs the River *Oglio* with only the *Venetian* Forces, the Imperialiſts would croſs the *Adda*, and march to attack him, he inſiſted that the Eccleſiaſtic Army, which was now at *Piacenza*, ſhould paſs the *Po*, below *Cremona*, and march to join

A. D. 1526.

Duke of *Urbino* General of the Army of the League.

A. D. 1526. with the *Venetians*; and then with theſe Forces he intended to approach the *Adda*, and ſtrongly intrench himſelf on the Banks of that River, where he might ſecurely wait the Coming of the *Swiſs*, which, beſides their natural Slowneſs, had met with many Difficulties, the Care of conducting them having been imprudently committed to the Governor of *Mus*, and the Biſhop of *Lodi*. For both the Vanity of the Biſhop was very unequal to that Charge, and the Governor was principally intent on imbezzling Part of the Money that was ſent to pay the *Swiſs*; and neither of them had Authority enough with that Nation to raiſe ſo great a Number of Forces, eſpecially with ſo ſmall a Quantity of Money, as ſoon as there would be Occaſion for them. This Affair alſo was much injured by the Emulation that aroſe between them, being more intent on ſatisfying their Ambition and private Intereſt than on any Thing elſe. The Difficulty was alſo in ſome meaſure increaſed by the Agents of the King of *France* reſiding in *Swiſſerland*, for they had no Intimation of the Sentiments of the King on that Head,

Head, nor wherher it were contrary or conformable to his Intentions, ſince no Notice had been given to the King of this Step; which Neglect was not owing to Inadvertency but Premeditation, in conformity to ſuch Counſels as, having an Appearance of much Wiſdom, frequently prove too refined; for *Alberto Pio*, the King's Ambaſſador reſiding at the Court of *Rome*, had intimated that, if the King ſhould know, before the Concluſion of the League, that Orders were given to take into Pay a Body of *Swiſs*, it was to be feared he would be the more dilatory in concluding it, ſince he would then take it for an abſolute Certainty that the Pontiff and *Venetians* had begun the War againſt *Cæſar* without him. The Coming of the *Swiſs* being then retarded, the principal and moſt effectual Means for ſuccouring the Caſtle of *Milan* was alſo retarded, tho' the Biſhop and the Governor gave every Day certain and inſtant Hopes of their very ſpeedy Arrival. A. D. 1526.

A. D. 1526.

BUT the *Cæſarean* Generals, after they ſaw Preparations openly made for a War, that they might not have to deal with Enemies within and without at once, reſolved to ſecure themſelves of the People of *Milan*, who, growing every Day more inſolent, not only refuſed them all the Proviſions which they demanded, but if any Soldier was found in the City ſeparated from the reſt he was ſure of having his Throat cut by the *Milaneſe*. Taking therefore Occaſion from the Diſorders which were committed in all Parts of the City, they demanded that ſome of the Captains of the People ſhould depart out of *Milan*; this occaſioning a Tumult, ſome *Spaniards* who were walking about the Town were murdered by certain of the Populace. On this *Antonio da Leva* and the Marquis, having cauſed the Troops to approach *Milan* with all Silence, and proteſted they were no longer obliged by the Agreements made ſome Days paſt; on the Seventeenth of *June*, to give Beginning to the Tumult, cauſed one of the common People, who had not paid them Reverence,

to

to be killed in their Preſence, and after him three others, and then, marching out of their Quarters with a Battalion of *German* Foot, gave occaſion to the People to fly to Arms; and tho' in the Beginning the Old Court, and the Belfry of the Biſhopric, where was poſted a Guard of *Italian* Foot, were forced by the Populace, yet at laſt fighting without Order, and, according to the Manner of an unexperienced Rabble, more with Shouts than Arms, and being greatly annoyed by ſome Harquebuſiers, poſted on Eminences, which the *Spaniards* had before ſeized, many of them were wounded and killed; ſo that the Diſorders and Terror continually increaſing, and the *German* Foot having begun to ſet Fire to the neighbouring Houſes, and the *Spaniſh* Infantry called by the Generals already approaching the City, the People, apprehenſive of utter Ruin, agreed that their Captains, and many others of the Populace who conſented to it, ſhould leave the Town, and that the Multitude ſhould lay down their Arms, ſubmitting themſelves to the Obedience of the Generals, who haſtened to

A. D. 1526.

A. D. 1526. appeaſe the Tumult, with theſe Conditions, before the *Spaniſh* Foot ſhould come within the Walls, doubting that, if they entered while the Parties were in Arms, it would not be in their Power to reſtrain the Violence of the Soldiers from proceeding to ſuch a Height as to put the Town to the Sack, which they could by no means approve, as well out of Fear that the Army, enriched by ſo vaſt a Prey, would either be diſſolved, or conſiderably diminiſhed, as becauſe, conſidering the Want of Money, and other Difficulties which they might encounter in the Courſe of the War, they judged that it was more for their Advantage to preſerve that City, that it might be in a Condition to maintain the Army for a long Time, if needful, within its Walls, than to waſte and conſume all its Strength and Spirits in a Day.

Inſurrection in *Milan* appeaſed.

It appeared then that the Affairs of the League did not proceed in ſo proſperous a Courſe as they had at firſt promiſed themſelves, ſo many Difficulties concurring to retard the Arrival of the *Swiſs*, and the Foundation

Foundation of their Expectations from the People of *Milan* proving defective. But a new Event, which happened unexpectedly, reſtored in a great meaſure the Reputation of the Alliance, and rendered the Way to Victory eaſier and plainer than it was before. Under ſuch miſerable Diſcontent, or rather extreme Deſpair, of the Dutchy of *Milan*, there had been held, for ſeveral Months paſt, by Contrivance of various Perſons, ſeveral Plots for Innovations, in almoſt every City of that State. But others proving abortive one took effect, which was held by the Duke of *Urbino* and the *Venetian* Proveditor in the City of *Lodi*, with *Lodovico Viſtarino*, a Gentleman of that Place; who, either out of Concern for the Family of the *Sforzas*, to whom he had been an antient Servant, or moved with Compaſſion for his native Place, which was treated by *Fabritio Maramaus*, Colonel of a Regiment of Fifteen Hundred *Neapolitan* Foot, with the ſame Roughneſs that *Milan* was treated by the *Spaniards* and *Germans*, reſolved to introduce into the City the *Venetian* Troops, tho' he was in the A. D. 1526.

A. D. 1526. the Pay of the Imperialiſts. But he himſelf proteſted, and the Duke of *Urbino* confirmed it, that he had before demanded and obtained a Diſcharge, under a Pretence that he was no longer able to maintain the Men under his Command without Money. The Order of conducting the Affair was thus ſettled: On the Night of the 24*th* of *June*, *Malateſta Baglione*, with Three or Four Thouſand *Venetian* Foot, was, as ſoon as it grew dark, to approach the Walls at the Side of a certain Baſtion, where he was to be let into the City by *Viſtarino*; who, being accompanied by two others, approached that Baſtion, which was guarded by ſix Foot Soldiers, as with an Intent to review them, and, being followed by ſome others whom he had concealed in certain neighbouring Houſes, mounted the Baſtion, and began to combat with the Guard. For, tho' he had before given the Word according to military Cuſtom, the Centinels on Suſpicion were come to Blows with him, and others running in at the Noiſe the Baſtion was in Danger of being retaken, for the Fight began to grow hot, and *Lodovico*

Lodi ſurpriſed by the *Venetians*.

was

was wounded in the Conteſt. But when he was now reduced to the laſt Neceſſity, *Malateſta* arrived with his Troops, which aſcended the ſame Baſtion, by the Help of Scaling-ladders, and entered the Town, whence *Fabritio Maramaus*, who, on hearing the Noiſe, was advancing towards the Walls with Part of his Troops, was forced to retire into the Caſtle. The Town was maſtered, and moſt Part of the Foot, which had their Quarters ſcattered over the City, were diſarmed and made Priſoners. Not long after arrived in the Place part of the Troops of the Duke of *Urbino*, who having, in order to approach nearer, marched the Day before, and encamped at *Orago*, on the River *Oglio*, which he paſſed the next Night, over a Bridge made in Haſte, as ſoon as he was informed of *Malateſta*'s Succeſs, paſſed the *Adda* on a like Bridge, and having placed a ſtronger Garriſon in *Lodi*, to defend it againſt any Succours that might attempt to enter it through the Caſtle, immediately returned to the Army. But when the News reached *Milan*, the Marquis *del Guaſto*, with ſome Light Horſe, and Three Thouſand

A. D. 1526.

A. D. 1526. Thouſand *Spaniſh* Foot, among whom was *Giovanni d' Urbino*, haſtened to *Lodi* without Delay, and having without Obſtacle introduced his Foot through the Gate of *Succours* into the Caſtle, which is ſituated in ſuch a manner that it may be entered by a natural covered Way, without Danger of Battery or Hindrance from the Flanks of the City, from the Caſtle he immediately entered the City, and advanced as far as the Market-place, where the Troops that came with *Malateſta*, and the Reinforcement that arrived afterwards, were drawn up in Order, having poſted Guards in many of the Houſes, and along the Street that reaches to the Gate by which they had entered, in order to ſecure their Retreat from the Place if they ſhould be overpowered by the Imperialiſts. The Fight was very briſk in the Beginning, and many were of Opinion that if the *Spaniards* had perſiſted in fighting they would have recovered *Lodi*, for the *Venetian* Soldiers were known to be ſufficiently tired. But the Marquis, either out of Diſtruſt becauſe he had found the Enemy more numerous than he had at firſt believed,

lieved, or imagining that the *Venetian* Army was near at hand, ſoon quitted the Field, and leaving a Garriſon in the Caſtle retired to *Milan*. The Duke of *Urbino* arrived afterwards, and, boaſting that he had paſſed an Army over two great Rivers, upon Bridges, without ſtopping, applied himſelf to ſecure the Victory, by increaſing the Number of Troops in the Place, for making the better Reſiſtance againſt the Enemy if they ſhould return, and ordering the Cannon to be planted about the Caſtle. But the Garriſon of that Fortreſs expecting no Relief, and becauſe it was very difficult to defend the Place, which, from its ſmall Circuit, was capable but of few Troops, the Night following abandoned it, being received and brought off by a Body of Horſe ſent from *Milan* for that Purpoſe. A. D. 1526.

THE Conqueſt of *Lodi* was of very great Conveniency, and of no leſs Reputation to the Affairs of the League, for the City was well fortified, and was one of thoſe which the Imperialiſts had already deſigned to defend to the laſt Extremity.

From

A. D. 1526. From *Lodi* there is an open Road, without any Hindrance, to the Gates of *Milan*, and to *Pavia*; for theſe three Cities, being ſituated as in a Triangle, are twenty Miles aſunder from each other, for which Reaſon the Imperialiſts ordered Fifteen Hundred *German* Foot from *Milan* to *Pavia*. Beſides, the Paſſage of the *Adda*, which was at firſt thought an Enterpriſe of ſome Difficulty, being gained, all Obſtructions to the Conjunction of the Armies were removed, and it was rendered impracticable to ſuccour, in caſe of an Attack, *Cremona*, in which City was General *Curradino* with Fifteen Hundred *German* Foot, and the Enemy was deprived of a very convenient Place for moleſting the State of the Church, and that of the *Venetians*. Hence it was the common Voice of all the Army that, by proceeding forwards with Expedition, the Imperialiſts would be reduced to very great Perplexity and Confuſion. But different were the Sentiments of the Duke of *Urbino*, who was abſolutely of Opinion that to approach *Milan* without a large Body of *Swiſs* would be a very dangerous

dangerous Step. But as he was unwilling to make a full Diſcovery of this his Judgment to others, he reſolved, by ſlow Marches, and by reſting at leaſt a Day in every Encampment, to give Time for the Coming of the *Swiſs*, hoping that they muſt needs arrive in the Army in a very few Days, and diſregarding whatever was propoſed to be done in caſe they ſhould not come, tho' from the Progreſs of that Affair hitherto there was Reaſon to doubt it. Wherefore the Eccleſiaſtic Army, the Day after the Acquiſition of *Lodi*, being come to an Encampment at *San Martino*, three Miles from *Lodi*, it was concluded in a Common Council that the Eccleſiaſtics and *Venetians*, after reſting one Day more in their reſpective Camps, ſhould march the next Day and encamp at *Old Lodi*, five Miles from *Lodi*, where they ſay *Lodi* was built by *Pompey the Great*, and three Miles from the high Road to *Pavia*, on a Road that leads both to *Milan* and *Pavia*, in order to keep the Imperial Generals in the greater Suſpenſe. That Day A. D. 1526.

A. D. 1526. Day the Eccleſiaſtic and *Venetian* Armies joined as they marched in the Field, being almoſt equal in Infantry, which together amounted to little leſs than Twenty Thouſand Foot; but the *Venetians* had the Superiority in the Number of Men at Arms, and of Light Horſe, with which the Eccleſiaſtics were continually providing themſelves, and much more in the Quantities of Artillery, Ammunition, and all Neceſſaries. At *Old Lodi*, where they reſted the next Day, changing their Minds, they reſolved for the future to march on the high Road, for avoiding the Country, which out of the Road is too difficult on account of the Hedges and Ditches, and becauſe it was thought eaſier to ſuccour the Caſtle by that Way, which turns towards the Gate of *Como*, than by the Way of *Landriano*, which brings you to the Gate of *Vercelli*, whither it was more difficult to conduct the Army, from the Nature of the Country; and alſo, becauſe by marching on that Side their Convoys of Proviſions would be more ſecure, and it would

would be eaſier for them to receive the *Swiſs*, becauſe they were more at their Backs. A. D. 1526.

WITH this Reſolution the united Army, on the laſt Day of *June*, advanced to *Marignano*, where, in conſulting what was to be done, the Duke of *Urbino* was for expecting the Coming of the *Swiſs*, of which there was the ſame Uncertainty, and perhaps greater than at firſt, it appearing to him very dangerous to approach *Milan* with raw Troops, levied in Haſte, without the Support of thoſe firm and well-diſciplined Battalions, tho' there were in that City but few Horſe, beſides Three Thouſand *German* and Five or Six Thouſand *Spaniſh* Foot, and theſe without Money, and but ſlenderly provided with Victuals. But this Opinion was contrary to that of many other Officers, who judged that by proceeding in good Order, and always reconnoitring the Place of Encampment the Day before, *Milan* might be approached with Safety, ſince the Country is every where ſo difficult as to render it always eaſy to chuſe a very ſtrong Situa-

A. D. 1526. tion for a Camp, and it did not appear to them probable that the *Cæſarean* Army would march out and attack them in the open Field, becauſe it being neceſſary for them to keep the Caſtle blockaded, and inconſiſtent with their Safety, on account of their Jealouſy of the People, to leave the City of *Milan* wholly without Troops, the Number they could ſpare would be too ſmall to attack ſo great an Army, which, tho' it were newly collected, abounded however in Soldiers experienced in War, and in Officers of the beſt Reputation in *Italy*. And they could not only approach *Milan* without Danger, but alſo with Hopes of Victory; for the Suburbs of *Milan* not being fortified, but even, for want of Repairs, open in ſome Parts, it was not to be ſuppoſed that the Imperialiſts would ſtand to defend ſo great a Circuit. That this was their Reſolution appeared by manifeſt Indications, ſince they gave but little Attention to the Reparation of the Suburbs, but all Hands were at Work in fortifying the City; and if they abandoned the Suburbs, in which the Army might immediately take up its Quarters, it did not

Reaſons againſt their ſlow Proceedings.

not ſeem poſſible for the City to make a long Defence, not only becauſe the Army was without Money, and had but a ſmall Stock of Proviſions, but becauſe it had been always the Opinion of *Proſpero Colonna*, and many other Generals, that it was very difficult to defend *Milan* againſt an Enemy who ſhould be in Poſſeſſion of the Suburbs, as well becauſe the City is very weak in Walls, which in many Places are filled up with private Houſes, as becauſe the Suburbs have an Advantage over the City; and to theſe Reaſons was added, that they had the Caſtle at their Devotion. A. D. 1526.

THIS and the other Reſolutions depended principally on the Duke of *Urbino*; for tho' he was only General of the *Venetians*, the Eccleſiaſtics, to avoid Diſputes, and becauſe there was nothing to be done without it, had reſolved to receive his Directions as Captain General. But the Duke, tho' he was not moved by theſe Reaſons to advance forward, nor by the moſt earneſt Inſtances which, by Order of their Superiors, were made to him by

A. D. 1526. the Pope's Lieutenant, and the *Venetian* Proveditor, to whoſe Opinion many others alſo of the General Officers adhered, bethought himſelf however that a long Continuance in that Place, without a greater Certainty of the Coming of the *Swiſs*, might turn to his great Scandal and Diſgrace; and therefore, after the Army had halted one Day at *Marignano*, on the third of *July* it proceeded to *San Donato* five Miles diſtant from *Milan*, the Duke having reſolved to remove forwards more out of Complaiſance with the Deſires and Opinions of others than according to his own Determination, with a Deſign however always to interpoſe a Day between one Encampment and the other, to give the more Time for the Arrival of the *Swiſs*, a Thouſand of whom at length having deſcended into the *Bergameſe* took their Way to the Army, and Advices, as uſual, were continually received of the Coming of the reſt. On the Fifth of *July* then the Army advanced, and paſſing *San Martino*, encamped Three Miles from *Milan*, on the right Hand of the Road, in a ſtrong and very ſecure Poſt, where the ſame Day they had

Motions of the confederate Army.

a ſmall Skirmiſh with ſome *Spaniſh* Harquebuſiers who had fortified themſelves in a Houſe, and the Day following, continuing in the ſame Camp, they had another ſuch Skirmiſh, and were favoured with the Arrival of Five Hundred *Swiſs* commanded by *Cæſar Gallo*. Here a Council was held on the Manner of proceeding forwards; and tho' it had been their firſt Intention to march directly to the Relief of the Caſtle of *Milan*, where the Entrenchment that incloſed it on the outſide was not ſo ſtrong but that there were Hopes of ſurmounting it, yet the Duke of *Urbino* was of Opinion that the Armies ſhould take the direct Way to the Suburbs of *Milan*; and his Council was at laſt approved by all the reſt. For when Councils were held he propoſed the Subject, and, without expecting an Anſwer from others, declared his Opinion, or at leaſt in propoſing made Uſe of ſuch Terms as plainly diſcovered his Sentiments, in ſuch a manner that the other Generals would not take upon them to contradict him. The Duke alledged that an Attempt to lead the Army, out of the High Road, to the Relief of the Caſtle, would require a A. D. 1526.

A. D. 1526. long Time becauſe of the Levels which it was neceſſary to make on account of the Difficulty of the Country, and would be attended with Danger of ſome Diſorder, becauſe their Flank would be expoſed too near the Enemies, who alſo would have the Means given them of making a more powerful Reſiſtance by uniting all their Forces on the Side of the Caſtle, whereas otherwiſe they would be neceſſitated to ſtand divided in order to reſiſt the Enemy, and not to abandon the Guard of the Caſtle; and by leading the Forces to the *Roman* Gate the Generals of the League would have it always in their Power to turn themſelves with Eaſe, as from Day to Day it ſhould appear reaſonable, to what Quarter they pleaſed. Purſuant to this Counſel it was reſolved that on the Seventh Day the Armies ſhould encamp at *Bufaletta* and *Pillaſtrelli*, Country Seats ſtanding on the high Road half a Mile diſtant from *Milan*, within Cannon Shot, with an Intention from thoſe Quarters to obſerve and take ſuch Meaſures as ſhould appear to be good and reaſonable from Opportunities and the Motions of the Enemies; who, in the Opinion

Opinion of many, would, as ſoon as they ſaw the Armies encamped ſo near them, not think of putting themſelves on the Defence, eſpecially by Night, of the Suburbs, becauſe in ſeveral Places the Ditches were filled, and the Ramparts levelled, and on ſome Quarters ſo open that they could hardly be defended. A. D. 1526.

BUT the Night before the Army was to proceed forwards the Duke of *Bourbon*, who a few Days before was arrived at *Genoa* with Six Gallies, and Bills of Exchange for One Hundred Thouſand Ducats, entered with Eight Hundred *Spaniards* on Foot, whom he had brought with him, into *Milan*, to the great Satisfaction of the Marquis *del Guaſto*, and *Antonio da Leva*, who had earneſtly ſollicited his Coming. His Arrival put new Spirits in the Soldiers, and by the ſame might be comprehended the affected Negligence, and cold Diſpoſition of the King of *France* with reſpect to the War *. For the Pontiff having in the Duke of *Bourbon* arrives at *Milan*.

* Though the King of *France* hated *Cæſar*'s Greatneſs, he was willing that the War ſhould be prolonged, in Hopes by that Means to facilitate the Releaſement of his Children. *Bugatto*.

A. D. 1526. Beginning, when he took into his Pay *Andrea Doria*, conſulted with him about the Forces and Proviſions required for making an Attempt upon the *Genoeſe* Eſtabliſhment, that Admiral gave him his Opinion that it was a very eaſy Enterpriſe, if undertaken at the Time that the War ſhould commence in the Dutchy of *Milan*, and if his own Eight Gallies were joined to thoſe that the King of *France* had in the Port of *Marſeilles*, or if at leaſt the Arrival of *Bourbon*'s Gallies were prevented. For as, in ſuch a Caſe, he would remain Lord of the Sea with his Eight Gallies, the City of *Genoa* could not ſubſiſt many Days under a Blockade by Sea, excluded from all Commerce, Exerciſes, and Proviſions ſupplied by the Benefit of the Waters. And tho' the King had promiſed to prevent the Coming of the Duke of *Bourbon*, his Word was of no Signification, for his Fleet was not in Order, and the Captains of his Gallies, partly for Want of Money, partly out of Negligence, and perhaps out of Deſign, had their Payments delayed, as it alſo happened afterwards to the Men at Arms.

But

BUT the Arrival of the Duke of *Bourbon* being unknown to thoſe without the City, the Reſolution of advancing forwards with the Army was fruſtrated by the Duke of *Urbino*, either on account of ſome Advices received, as it is believed, from *Milan*, or of Intelligence by ſome Spy; whence, getting free of that Diffidence with which he had been hitherto poſſeſſed, he aſſured the Pontiff's Lieutenant, in the Preſence of the *Venetian* Proveditor, that he held it for certain that the next Day would turn out moſt happily; for if the Enemies came out to fight, which he did not believe they would venture to do, they would infallibly be overcome; but if they came not forth, he was confident that they would either abandon the City of *Milan*, and retire to *Pavia*, or at leaſt, leaving the Defence of the Suburbs, would reduce all their Strength within the City, which after the Loſs of the Suburbs they could by no means defend; and any one of theſe Three Events was ſufficient to ſecure the Succeſs of the War.

A. D. 1526.

Vain Confidence of the Duke of *Urbino*.

THE

A. D. 1526. THE next Day therefore, which was the Seventh of *July*, omitting the Encampment which they had deſigned the Day before, in Hopes of gaining the Suburbs without Diſpute, and aſpiring after the Glory of having taken them by Aſſault on their March, a Company of Harquebuſiers by his Order puſhed forward to the *Roman* Gate, and to the Gate of *Toſa*, where tho' they had received Advices for ſome Days before, and on that ſame Day, that the *Spaniards* intended to abandon thoſe Places, they found them poſted in thoſe Parts of the Suburbs, not with a Deſign, as it was ſaid, of making a continued Reſiſtance, but in order to make their Retreat into *Milan* rather like military Men, who had ſhown their Faces to the Enemy, and were unwilling that they ſhould find the Suburbs abandoned out of Cowardice. By ſuch Reſiſtance they did not only more effectually maintain the Reputation of their Army, eſpecially as it was always in their Power to retire into the City without Diſorder, but alſo ſome Accident might poſſibly happen, which might encourage them to perſiſt in the Defence of the

Army of the League before *Milan*.

the Suburbs; which was a Point of very great Moment, ſince a Retreat into the City was rather a Meaſure to be taken out of Neceſſity, than from a ſpontaneous Choice, as well for other Reaſons as becauſe, by reducing the Troops within ſo narrow a Compaſs, it would be eaſy for the *Italians* to prevent the Entrance of Proviſions into *Milan*, without which it was impoſſible for the Troops within the Walls to ſubſiſt for any Length of Time, becauſe new Corn had not yet been brought to Market. The Harquebuſiers then preſenting themſelves at the Two Gates, where the *Spaniards*, beſides defending themſelves, were inceſſantly at Work in fortifying themſelves, the Duke, who had met with Reſiſtance contrary to Expectation, cauſed Three Cannon to be brought before the *Roman* Gate within Bowſhot; which being planted, he began briſkly to batter the Gate, and endeavoured to diſmount a Falconet. This done, he cauſed a good Number of his Men at Arms to diſmount in order to give the Aſſault, and directed Scaling-Ladders to be brought. He did not however continue in his Reſolution A. D. 1526.

lution

A. D. 1526. lution to ſtorm the Place, and ſo the Action ended in ſome ſlight Skirmiſhing and Play of the Small Arms on each Side, in which thoſe within the Ramparts had a great Advantage in Reſpect of Situation, and killed of thoſe that were without about Forty Foot, and wounded many. The Gate in the mean time had received many Shot, but with inconſiderable Damage, becauſe the Cannon was at too great a Diſtance; but the Duke ſaying it was time to pitch the Camp, did not give the Aſſault, and ſo the Army returned to the ſame Place, tho' in ſome Confuſion on account of the Shortneſs of Time. He left a good Guard on the Three Pieces of Cannon, and the reſt of the Camp extended almoſt all on the right Hand of the Road, every one promiſing himſelf the Victory: For by a Multitude of Advices, and by the Report of ſome Priſoners taken by *Giovanni di Naldo*, who was in the Pay of the *Venetians*, they were credibly informed that the Imperialiſts had packed up great Part of their Baggage, and were in Motion, in order for their Departure rather than otherwiſe; and the ſame Evening ſeaſonably arriv-

ed

ed in the Camp Six Cannon of the *Venetians*. A. D. 1526.

BUT ſoon after not only the Hopes but the whole State of Affairs was altered; for about the Beginning of the Night ſome *Spaniſh* Foot having made a Sally in order to attack the Artillery were repulſed by the *Italian* Foot appointed to guard it; but the Duke of *Urbino* would have it that the *Italians* had been put into Diſorder, and after a few Hours of the Night had paſſed, finding himſelf deceived in his Hopes, and that Reſiſtance had been made at the Gates and Ramparts of the Suburbs, and, while he was conſidering, the Fear which he had at firſt conceived of the Enemy's Infantry returning upon him, he took a precipitous Reſolution to decamp with the Army, and immediately began to put it in Execution, by firſt ordering the Artillery and Ammunition to be ſent away, and commanding the *Venetian* Troops to put themſelves in Readineſs for a March, and ſent Notice, by the Proveditor, to the Lieutenant, and Eccleſiaſtic Generals of his Reſolution, deſiring they would concur in the ſame without

Duke of *Urbino* decamps from *Milan* in a Hurry.

A. D. 1526. out Delay. At this Meſſage, not only ſudden, but contrary to every one's Expectation, being confounded, and in a manner aſtoniſhed, they went to wait upon him, that they might inform themſelves more particularly of his Deſigns, and try to induce him not to depart. He declared to them, in very poſitive and reſolute Terms, that he reflected with Grief that, contrary to his own Opinion, and meerly for the Satisfaction of others, he had approached ſo near *Milan*; but that it had more of Prudence to correct an Error when committed, than obſtinately to perſiſt in it. He knew, he ſaid, that becauſe the Army yeſterday had not regularly encamped on account of the Shortneſs of Time, and by the Cowardice of the *Italian* Infanty, ſo viſibly diſplayed the ſame Evening in the Attack of the Artillery, that the Stay of the Army in that Place till next Week would prove not only the Ruin of the Enterpriſe, but of the whole State of the League; for he was ſo certain that they would be defeated, that, not having the leaſt Doubt of it, he would not diſpute it with any one, ſince the Imperialiſts had the

His Reaſons.

ſame

ſame Evening planted a Saker between the *Roman* Gate and the Gate of *Toſa*, which took the very dangerous Quarter of the *Venetian* Infantry in Flank, and more would be planted that ſame Night; and as ſoon as it was Day, the Alarm being given, and the Army neceſſitated to put themſelves in Order, the Cannon from the Place would take them in Flank, and put them in ſuch Diſorder, that the Enemy ſallying forth, and attacking them in this ſhattered Condition would break them with the greateſt Eaſe. He was ſorry, he told them, that the Shortneſs of Time, and the Encumbrances of his Army with a much greater Quantity of Artillery and Ammunition than was with the Eccleſiaſtic Forces had conſtrained him to begin the Decampment before he had communicated it to them; but that in Reſolutions taken out of Neceſſity Excuſes are ſuperfluous: That he had made a greater Experiment than had ever been made by any General, having ventured to march directly * to give an A. D. 1526.

* *Eſſendoli moſſo di Cammino a dare l'Aſſalto, &c.* Having put himſelf off his March on attacking, &c. where *di Cammino* imports *without ſitting down before the Place, and opening the Trenches.*

A. D. 1526. an Aſſault to *Milan*; and that now it was neceſſary to uſe Prudence, and not to deſpair of the Succeſs of the Enterpriſe on account of the Retreat: That *Proſpero Colonna* had raiſed the Siege of *Parma* when half taken, and perhaps for leſs juſt Reaſons, and yet not long afterwards had glorioufly acquired the whole Dutchy of *Milan*. He adviſed the Eccleſiaſtics to follow his Reſolution, and decamp without Delay, becauſe (repeating what he had ſaid before) if the Sun found them in their preſent Quarters they would be routed and utterly ruined without Remedy, and that there was no Way to avoid it but by returning to the Camp at *San Martino*.

Guicciardini's Anſwer to the Duke's Reaſons.

THE Lieutenant anſwered, that, tho' every one believed that his Reſolutions were taken with the higheſt Prudence, yet not one of thoſe Officers knew any Cauſe that ſhould precipitate him to decamp in ſuch a Hurry. He repreſented to him what the Duke of *Milan* would do, on ſeeing his Retreat, and deſpairing of Succours; how greatly it muſt diſcourage the Pontiff and the *Venetians*, and the Impreſſions which, by the Decline of Enterpriſes, eſpecially in the Beginning,

Beginning, are uſually made on the Minds of Princes: That if the diſorderly Manner of encamping had been the Cauſe of ſo much Danger, it might be eaſily remedied, without depriving that Army of ſo great a Meaſure of Reputation, by encamping it anew in better Order, and retiring with it ſo far as ſhould be ſufficient to ſecure it from the Enemy's Cannon. A. D. 1526.

The Duke confirmed anew his firſt Concluſion, adding, that he could not by the Rules of War take any other Reſolution; that he would take the Blame upon himſelf, and that all the World ſhould know that he had been the Author of it; that it was not proper to waſte any more Time in talking to no Purpoſe, ſince it was neceſſary to be gone from thence, before the Night was paſt. With this Concluſion every one returned to his Quarters, and applied himſelf to put himſelf in Readineſs to haſten and preſs the March of the Troops, of which thoſe who were foremoſt broke up in ſuch Terror, that going off with a Show much like that of Men who had been routed, Multitudes of the *Venetian* Horſe and Foot went off in a ſtraggling Manner, Duke perſiſts in his Reſolutions.

A. D. 1526. ſome of whom never ſtopped till they reached *Lodi*, and the Artillery of the *Venetians* paſſed beyond *Marignano*, but being recalled, it reſted in that Place. The reſt of the Troops, and eſpecially the Rear-Guard, decamped in good Order; and *Giovanni de' Medici*, who was with the Eccleſiaſtic Foot in the very Rear of the Army, would not move till it was broad Day, as not thinking it proper to carry off with him, inſtead of an expected Victory, the Diſgrace of running away by Night.

Cenſured. That this Step had not been neceſſary was demonſtrated by Experience, for none of the Imperialiſts ſallied out to attack the Rear of the Army, but, on the contrary, having, as ſoon as it was Day, obſerved ſo tumultuous a Decampment, were ſtruck with the higheſt Admiration, not knowing how to gueſs at the Cauſe. And the Shame of this Retreat was yet the more increaſed, becauſe the Duke had declared that it was his Will that the Troops ſhould halt at *San Martino*, and yet gave private Orders to the *Venetian* Camp-Maſters to conduct their Men to *Marignano*; induced either by Fear that the Enemy would come

come immediately and attack him in that Camp, or, at leaſt, as he himſelf confeſſed afterwards, aſſuring himſelf that the Caſtle of *Milan*, on ſeeing the Retreat of the Succours which had appeared for its Relief, which, above all Things, ſtrikes a Terror into ſuch as are beſieged, would not delay to ſurrender, in which Caſe he would not have ventured to continue at *San Martino*, he judged it leſs diſhonourable to retire all at once, than to make two Retreats in ſo ſhort a Time; and therefore the Artillery, Baggage, and foremoſt Squadrons of the *Venetian* Army marched on towards *Marignano*, without halting at *San Martino*. When the Lieutenant deſired to know of the Duke the Reaſon of this Proceeding, he anſwered that it was not becauſe he made any Difference between this and the other Place in point of Security, for he thought himſelf as ſafe from the Enemy in the Camp at *San Martino* as in that of *Marignano*; but becauſe the Troops, being fatigued with the Actions of the preceding Days, might with more Conveniency repoſe, and put themſelves in Order without receiving any Moleſtation

A. D. 1526.

A. D. 1526. leſtation from the Enemy at *Marignano*. And when it was replied that in this equal Security of both Quarters the Retreat of the Army to *Marignano* would in a greater meaſure deprive the Beſieged in the Caſtle of *Milan* of Hopes of Relief than a Halt at *San Martino*, he anſwered in high Words that, while he held in his Hand the Staff of Command over the *Venetians*, he would never ſuffer any Encroachments upon his Authority, but was reſolved to march and encamp at *Marignano*; ſo that both Armies, with ſufficient Diſhonour, and with very loud Clamours of all the Soldiers, ſince he might well ſay, contrary to the Words of *Cæſar*, VENI, VIDI, FUGI †, were conducted to *Marignano*. Here the Duke reſolved to ſettle his Quarters till there ſhould arrive in the Camp not only the Number of Five Thouſand *Swiſs*, which was the utmoſt that was promiſed by the Governor of *Mus*, and by the Biſhop of *Lodi*, who arrived with Five Hundred at the very Time when the Camp broke up, but alſo as many more as ſhould make the whole

† *I came, I ſaw, I ran away*; contrary to that of *Cæſar*, *Veni, Vidi, Vici*, I came, I ſaw, I overcame.

whole Number Twelve Thouſand; be- A. D. 1526.
cauſe giving the Caſtle of *Milan* for loſt, he was of Opinion that it was impracticable to reduce the City by Force, or to a Neceſſity of ſurrendering for Want of Neceſſaries, without two Armies, each of them ſufficient to reſiſt the whole united Force of the Enemy.

THUS did the Armies retreat from the Walls of *Milan* on the Eighth of *July*, to the great Concern of many, not only for the Conſequences of the Thing, but alſo at the Inauſpiciouſneſs of the Omen; for on the ſame Day, by common Conſent of the Confederates, the League was proclaimed at *Rome*, at *Venice*, and in *France*, with the uſual Ceremonies and Solemnity: And indeed, in the Opinion of moſt Men, there was ſo little Occaſion for taking ſo reproachful a Step, that many doubted that the Duke had been induced to it by ſome ſecret Orders from the *Venetian* Senate, who, for ſome Purpoſe unknown to the reſt, was deſirous of prolonging the War: Others ſuppoſed that the Duke, retaining the Memory of the

Various Reaſons aſſigned of the Duke's Conduct.

A. D. 1526. Injuries which he had received from *Leo*, and from the preſent Pope when he was a Cardinal, and fearing that his Greatneſs would endanger his own State, was, either out of Hatred or Fear, unwilling that the War ſhould ſo ſoon be brought to a happy Concluſion; eſpecially ſince he had juſt Reaſon to ſuſpect the Mind of the Pontiff, becauſe the *Florentines* were in Poſſeſſion of *San Leo* with the whole *Monte Feltro*, and he knew that the little ſurviving Daughter of *Lorenzo de Medici* always bore the Title of Dutcheſs of *Urbino*. However the Lieutenant of the Pontiff was certified by moſt indubitable Proofs that the *Venetians* were very much diſpleaſed at this Retreat, and that they had never ceaſed ſolliciting him to conduct the Army before *Milan*, in great Hopes of an eaſy Victory. But conſidering that it was not probable that the Duke, if he had conceived any Expectations of obtaining *Milan*, would have been willing to deprive himſelf of a Glory, as much ſuperior to what had been gained by any other General for a long Time paſt, as the Fame and Reputation of the Imperial Army exceeded

ceeded that of any other Army which had for many Years before appeared in *Italy*, the Conſequence of which Glory would almoſt of neceſſity have been the Security of his State; for the Pontiff, both for the Sake of avoiding ſo great a Reproach, and that he might not offer ſo high an Affront to the *Venetians*, would not have preſumed to attack him; and alſo diligently conſidering the Proceedings during the whole Time, the Lieutenant thought it more likely, as did many others who were of the ſame Sentiments, that the Duke being fallen from the Hopes with which he had Two Days before flattered himſelf, that the Imperialiſts muſt be obliged at leaſt to abandon the Suburbs, returned with ſuch Poſitiveneſs to his firſt Opinion, by which he had conceived a greater Dread of their Forces, and a greater Diſtruſt of the Valour of the *Italian* Infanty than the other Generals had imagined of them, that Fear, making a deeper Impreſſion on him than on the others, had precipitated him into this Reſolution. A. D. 1526.

A. D. 1526. THIS Retreat greatly diſturbed the Pontiff and *Venetians*, whoſe Hopes were augmented to ſuch a Degree that they expected Day after Day to hear of the Acquiſition of *Milan*, but eſpecially the Pontiff, who was not prepared either with Money, or with Conſtancy of Mind for a long War, and diſcovered alſo many Difficulties ariſing in his Way both at *Rome* and in other Parts of his State. For Three Hundred *Spaniſh* Foot, and a Number of Horſe who were in Garriſon at *Carpi* began to ravage all the circumjacent Country of the Church, doing vaſt Damage; they alſo greatly obſtructed the Paſſage of Couriers and Money from *Rome* and *Florence* to the Army, which could not be obviated by placing ſmall Garriſons in the Towns: And the Pontiff having entered into the War with but a ſmall Stock of Money, and being over-burthened with immenſe Expences, could hardly with his own Money, and what was brought him from *Florence* on account of the War, make Proviſions ſufficient to repreſs them, eſpecially as he was employed in a new Enterpriſe in *Tuſcany*, and

Pope embarraſſed.

and neceſſitated to ſtand on his Guard on the Side of *Rome*. For Don *Ugo*, and the Duke of *Seſſa* having diſcharged their Embaſſy, *Aſcanio* and *Veſpaſiano Colonna* aſſembling their Men in the Caſtles of the *Colonnas* in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, made many Feints of raiſing ſome Diſturbances on the Side of that City, and ſome of their Partiſans had already fortified themſelves in *Alagno*, a Town of the *Campagna*. And the Pontiff was conſtrained to have a principal Regard to theſe Motions on account of the *Ghibellin* Faction at *Rome*, ſince but a few Days before he had diſcovered ſome Marks of an evil Diſpoſition in the *Roman* Commonalty againſt himſelf. For when he had hired *Andrea Doria*, under Pretence of ſecuring the *Roman* Seas from the *Mooriſh* Pirates, which gave no ſmall Obſtruction to the Commerce and Plenty of the City, and in order to ſupport the Expence had augmented certain Duties, the Butchers, out of a Reluctancy to pay them, aſſembled in a tumultuous Manner before the Houſe of the Duke of *Seſſa*, who had not as yet left *Rome*, whither alſo

A. D. 1526.

almoſt

A. D. 1526. almoſt all the *Spaniards* that lived in *Rome* ran armed; but this Tumult was eaſily appeaſed.

THE Pontiff at this Juncture had ſtood doubtful and heſitating whether it were beſt to make an Attempt for changing the State of *Siena*, there being a Diſagreement in the Counſels of thoſe who were about him. For ſome, putting much Confidence in the great Number of Exiles, and in the Confuſion of the Popular Government, would perſuade him that it would be very eaſy to change it, repreſenting to him the Importance of ſecuring himſelf of that City in the preſent Situation of Affairs, becauſe, in caſe of any Misfortunes that might happen, the Receptacle which that Place might afford to the Enemy muſt be very prejudicial to the Affairs of *Rome* and of *Florence*. Others aſſerted that it was more prudent to bend the whole Force againſt one Place, with little or rather no Diverſion at all from the principal Effects, than to be intangled in ſo many Enterpriſes, ſince at laſt they who ſhould remain ſuperior in *Lombardy* would

Meditates an Attempt upon *Siena*.

Diſſuaded

would remain ſuperior every where elſe; and that no ſuch mighty Confidence ought to be placed in the Forces or Adherents of the Exiles, the Hopes of which almoſt conſtantly proved moſt fallacious, as to imagine that a Change in that Government ſhould be attempted without powerful Proviſions, which it would be difficult for him to make, as well on account of the Greatneſs of the Expence, as becauſe he had ſent all his principal Officers to the Wars in *Lombardy*. A. D. 1526.

THESE Reaſons would perhaps have prevailed with him, if thoſe who had the Adminiſtration of the public Affairs at *Siena* had proceeded with that Moderation which, in Matters of ſmall Importance, Inferiors ought to obſerve towards their Superiors, having more Regard to Neceſſities than to a juſt Indignation. But it happened that long before one *Giovambattiſta Palmieri*, a *Seneſe*, who had obtained of the Republic the Command of One Hundred Foot in *Siena*, having given the Pontiff Hopes that as ſoon as his Troops approached *Siena* he would introduce

Deluded into a Plot againſt *Siena*.

A. D. 1526. troduce them into the Place through a common Shore, that paſſed under the Walls cloſe to a Baſtion; and the Pontiff having at his Requeſt ſent him Two Foot Soldiers, in whom he could confide, one of whom *Giovambattiſta*, made his Enſign-bearer, the Magiſtrates of the City, with whoſe Privity *Giovambattiſta*, deluding the Pontiff, carried on the Plot, when they ſaw a convenient Time, apprehended the Two Soldiers, and after proceeding againſt them with all the Formalities of Law, and divulging every where the Plot, made them ſuffer their due Puniſhments by a public Execution, in order to diſgrace, as much as they could, the Pontiff. Beſides, a few Days after they ſent ſome Troops to beſiege *Giovanni Martinozzi*, one of the Exiles, who reſided in the Territories of *Siena*, in his Seat of *Montelifre*.

THE Pontiff, exaſperated at theſe Proceedings, as intended to affront him, reſolved to attempt the Reſtoration of the Exiles to *Siena*, with his own Forces and thoſe of the *Florentines*, but with weaker

weaker Proviſions than the Enterpriſe required, eſpecially of Foot in Pay. Nor was the Weakneſs of the Army compenſated by the Worth and Authority of the Commanders, who, by the Pope's Appointment, were *Virginio Orſino* Count of *Anguillara*, *Lodovico* Count of *Pitigliano*, and *Giovanni Franceſco* his Son, *Gentile Baglione*, and *Giovanni da Saſſatello*. The Generals, after muſtering their Forces at *Centina*, marched to the *Tavernelle* on the *Arbia*, a River famous in the Days of our Anceſtors for the memorable Victory obtained by the *Ghibellins* over the *Guelfs* of *Florence*, and on the Seventeenth of *June* approached the Walls of *Siena*, with Nine Pieces of Artillery, Twelve Hundred Horſe, and above Eight Thouſand Foot; but almoſt all of them either Militia from the Dominions of the Church and of the *Florentines*, or Men ſent, without Money, to the Exiles, by their Friends, from the *Perugine* and other Places: And at the ſame Time *Andrea Doria* with the Gallies, and ſome Marines attacked the Ports of the *Seneſe*. But when they approached the Walls of *Siena* no Signal

A. D. 1526.

of

A. D. 1526. of a Tumult appearing from thoſe within the Place, as the Exiles had expected, it was neceſſary to ſit down with the Army, and lay a formal Siege to the City, in which were Sixty Horſe, and Three Hundred foreign Foot. Wherefore having approached the Gate of *Camollia* they began to batter the Wall on that Side. But the City was ſtrong by Situation, and had been fortified, and was of ſo large a Circuit that the Army did not inveſt half of it, and the People, whoſe Hatred of the Pontiff and the *Florentines* prevailed over their Affection to the Exiles, were diſpoſed and united for the Preſervation of their preſent Government. On the contrary, in the Army of the Exiles the Troops that had no Pay were of no Service, the Officers of little Reputation, and there were no ſmall Diviſions among them; the Exiles diſagreed not only in their Reſolutions and daily Preparations, but were at Variance alſo about the Form of the future Government, taking upon them already to ſhare and appoint among themſelves without what could only be regarded and ſettled by them who were within; ſo that after

Siena beſieged.

after battering the Walls to no Purpoſe, and not daring to give the Aſſault, they began to entertain but little Hopes of Succeſs. A. D. 1526.

But at the ſame time the Difficulties of the Confederates increaſed in *Lombardy*: For tho' the Five Thouſand *Swiſs* inliſted by the Governor of *Mus* and the Biſhop of *Lodi* were at length arrived in the Army, yet the Number not appearing ſufficient to the Duke of *Urbino*, thoſe were expected who had been ordered to be demanded of the Cantons in the Name of the King of *France*, with Hopes that they would be very ready to grant them, if for no other Reaſon, yet at leaſt for aboliſhing the Ignominy contracted in the Battle of *Pavia*, and that from the ſame Motive the Troops granted would proceed to the War, eſpecially in ſuch great Hopes of Victory, with an uncommon Ardor. But in that Nation, which a few Years before, on account of their Valour, and of the Reputation which they had gained, had a very fair Opportunity offered them of acquiring a very large Empire, there was no

A. D 1526. no longer that eager Deſire of Glory, nor Care of the Intereſt of the Common-Wealth; but, full of inſatiable Covetouſneſs they propoſed for their chief End in military Services the returning to their Houſes laden with Money. The Cantons therefore negotiating military Affairs after the Manner of Merchants, either publicly taking Occaſion from the Neceſſities of others to increaſe their own Profit, or full of venal and corrupt Men, granted or refuſed their Troops as beſt ſuited theſe Ends; and the Officers who were ſollicited to liſt them, that they might have the more advantageous Conditions, the more urgent they ſaw the Neceſſities of others, the higher they raiſed the Price, making moſt impudent and intolerable Demands. From theſe Motives the King having requeſted of the Cantons, according to the Articles of the Confederacy which he had contracted with them, to grant him the Foot which by common Conſent were to be paid with the Forty Thouſand Ducats which the King of *France* had diſburſed, the Cantons, after long Conſultations, anſwered, according to their Cuſtom, that they

The Swiſs degenerate and avaricious

they would not grant them Troops before the King had ſatisfied them for all that was due to them on account of the Penſions which he was obliged to pay them every Year. This amounting to a large Sum, and being difficult to be paid off in a ſhort Time, the King's Agents were neceſſitated, after obtaining Leave from the Cantons, tho' not without Difficulty, to inliſt private Officers; which Method, beſides occaſioning a Delay very pernicious in the State in which Affairs were ſituated, did not proceed with that Stability and Reputation as if the Troops had been obtained of the Leagues. A. D. 1526.

On this Occaſion the Imperialiſts receiving in the mean while no Moleſtation from the Enemy, who remained unactive at *Marignano*, applied themſelves, with the greateſt Sollicitude, to fortify *Milan*, not the City, as they did in the Beginning of the War, but the Ramparts and Baſtions of the Suburbs, no longer doubting, from the Courage which they had aſſumed, and the Diminution of the Adverſary's Reputation, of their Ability to defend them.

A. D. 1526. And having diſarmed the People of *Milan*, and turned the ſuſpected Perſons out of the Place, they had not only freed themſelves from their Doubts and Apprehenſions concerning them, but having reduced them to a moſt miſerable Slavery took no Care to pay the Soldiers, who, being quartered about in the Houſes of the *Milaneſe*, did not only conſtrain the Maſters of the Houſes to provide for them every Day plentiful and delicate Food, but alſo to ſupply them with Money for all other Uſes, which Neceſſity required, or Appetite craved, not ſparing to make uſe of the moſt rigorous Means of all Kinds to procure them. Theſe Burdens being inſupportable, the *Milaneſe* had no other Remedy but to endeavour to fly out of *Milan* privately, for it was prohibited to do it publicly. Hence for preventing ſuch Attempts many of the Soldiers, eſpecially the *Spaniards*, for the *German* Foot had more Modeſty and Gentleneſs, kept many of their Landlords tyed in their Houſes with their Wives and little Children, moſt Part of every Age and Sex being alſo expoſed to their Luſt. Wherefore all the Shops in

Miſerable State of *Milan*.

Milan

Milan ſtood ſhut up, and every one had taken Care to hide the Goods that were in their Shops, the Riches in their Houſes, and the Riches and Ornaments of the Churches, in ſubterraneous or otherwiſe remote Places. And yet this was not enough wholly to ſecure them; for the Soldiers, under Pretence of ſearching for Arms, went about diligently ranging over all Places in the City, forcing alſo the Servants in the Houſes to make Diſcoveries of the Effects of their Maſters, of which when found they left what Part they pleaſed to the right Owners. Hence the Face of that City was miſerable beyond Meaſure, lamentable was the Aſpect of the Inhabitants, reduced to the utmoſt Sorrow and Fear; a Circumſtance ſufficient to excite the tendereſt Commiſeration, and an incredible Example of the Mutability of Fortune to thoſe who but a little before had ſeen it thronged with Inhabitants, and for the Wealth of the Citizens, for the infinite Number of Shops and Schools*, for the Abundance and Delicacy of all Things pertaining to human Life,

A. D. 1526.

* Eſercitii.

A. D. 1526. for the ſuperb Grandeur, and moſt ſumptuous Ornaments as well of the Men as of the Women, and from the Nature of its Inhabitants, who are addicted to Feaſts and Diverſions, not only full of Joy and Gladneſs, but moſt flouriſhing and happy above all other Cities of *Italy*. And now it appeared deſolate as it were without Inhabitants, through the dreadful Havock which the Plague had made in it, and the Abſence of thoſe who were fled, or were continually flying; Men and Women were to be ſeen in negligent and very mean Attire, there was no more any Mark or Sign of Shops and Schools, by whoſe Means vaſt Riches were uſually conveyed into that City, and the Alacrity and Boldneſs of the Men were wholly converted into the Height of Grief and Fear. The People however were in ſome meaſure comforted by the Arrival of the Duke of *Bourbon*, perſuading themſelves that ſince he had brought with him, as it was reported, a Supply of Money, and that, by the Retreat of the Army of the Confederacy, the Neceſſities and Dangers appeared to be in ſome meaſure diminiſhed, thoſe intolerable

intolerable Grievances, and bitter Impoſi- A. D. 1546.
tions would in part be removed. And they were much more in Hopes that the Duke, on whom it was publicly talked that *Cæſar* had beſtowed the Dutchy of *Milan*, would, for his own Benefit, and for preſerving the Revenues and Eſtate of the City more entire for his own Intereſt, take Care that for the future they ſhould not be ſo miſerably perverted. And indeed this was the only Hope that was left them, for the Ambaſſadors they had ſent to *Cæſar* were ſenſible that there was no Remedy to be expected from him, either becauſe he was incapable of making thoſe Proviſions which were neceſſary for their Welfare on account of his being too far off, or becauſe he was much leſs affected, as Experience had often demonſtrated, with Compaſſion on the Oppreſſions and Miſeries of the People, than with a Deſire to maintain, for the Intereſt of his State, the Army, which not being paid at due Times, neither he himſelf nor his Generals could prevail with them to abſtain from Inſolences and Injuries; and they were the more tolerated becauſe the Officers, both for acquir-

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A. D. 1526. ing the Good-Will of the Soldiers, and becauſe the Expoſition of all Things to Rapine was attended with ſome Emolument to themſelves, were not diſpleaſed with this military Licentiouſneſs, ſince they had ſome Excuſe for tolerating it from the Failure of Payments. Wherefore all the Citizens of *Milan*, whoſe Circumſtances diſtinguiſhed them from the vulgar Sort, aſſembled in a great Body, and expreſſing in their Countenance, in their Habit, and in their Geſtures, the miſerable State of their Country, and of every Individual among themſelves, went in a Train, and with Abundance of Tears and Lamentations preſented themſelves before the Duke of *Bourbon*, to whom one of them, on whom the reſt had laid that Charge, ſpoke, as I am informed, to the following Purport.

Speech of a *Milaneſe* to the Duke of *Bourbon*.

"If this miſerable Country of ours, which has always, for very juſt Reaſons, deſired to have a Prince of its own, were not at preſent oppreſſed with more bitter and more atrocious Calamities than any City in the Memory of Man ever ſuffered, your

your Arrival, moſt illuſtrious Duke, would have been welcomed with the moſt joyful Acclamations. For what greater Happineſs could attend the City of *Milan* than to receive a Prince given her by *Cæſar*, of moſt noble Blood, and whoſe Wiſdom, Juſtice, Valour, Kindneſs and Liberality, we ourſelves have often on various Occaſions experimented? But our moſt iniquitous Fortune conſtrains us to lay before you (for we have no Hopes nor Expectations of any Remedy from others) our extreme Miſeries; greater without Compariſon than thoſe which Cities ſubdued by the Force of Enemies uſually ſuffer from the Avarice, from the Hatred, from the Cruelty, from the Luſt, and from all the other enraged and greedy Paſſions of the Conquerors. Theſe Things, in themſelves intolerable, are rendered yet more grievous by the Reproaches, which at every Turn are caſt upon us, as if they were inflicted as a Puniſhment on the People of *Milan* for their Diſloyalty to *Cæſar*, taking it for granted that the Tumults excited ſome Days ſince had been excited by public Conſent, and not, as it is well known, by A. D. 1526.

A. D. 1526. ſome ſeditious young Men, who raſhly ſtirred up the Rabble, who were ſecured by their Poverty from loſing any Thing, and are by Nature deſirous of Innovations; who readily imbibing vain Errors, and falſe Perſuaſions, are puſhed forwards by the Direction of him who ſtirs them up, as the Waves of the Sea are driven by the Blaſts of the Winds. It is not our Intention to excuſe or alleviate the preſent Charge by recounting the Number and Quality of the Actions which have been in paſt Years performed by the People of *Milan*, from the chief of the Nobility to the loweſt of the Commonalty, for the Service of *Cæſar*; when our City, from its antient Devotion to the *Cæſarean* Name, roſe up in Arms, with ſo much Readineſs, againſt the Governors, and againſt the Army of the King of *France*; when after that we ſuſtained, with ſo much Conſtancy, two very hard Sieges, voluntarily delivering up our Store of Proviſions and our Houſes to accommodate the Soldiers, and very readily ſupplying them when they wanted their Pay from *Cæſar*; expoſing with ſo great Alacrity, in the Company

pany of the Soldiers, our own Perſons day and night on all Guards, to all military Actions, and to all Dangers; when, on the Day of the Fight at *Bicocca*, the People of *Milan* with ſuch Fierceneſs defended the Bridge, by which alone the *French* were in Hopes to penetrate into the Quarters of the *Cæſarean* Army. At that Time *Proſpero Colonna*, the Marquis of *Peſcara*, with the other Generals, and even *Cæſar* himſelf, magnified our Loyalty, and praiſed up to the Skies our Conſtancy. Who is a better and more certain Witneſs of theſe Facts than yourſelf, who was preſent in the War of the Admiral, who ſaw, commended, and often was even ſurpriſed at ſo unſhaken a Fidelity, at ſo ardent a Diſpoſition? But let the Memory of theſe Things be obliterated, let not Demerits be compenſated by Merits, let preſent Deeds be taken into Conſideration. We refuſe no Puniſhment, if there ſhould appear any Mark of Diſaffection in the People of *Milan* towards *Cæſar*. They had certainly a great Love for *Franceſco Sforza*, as a Prince who had been given them by *Cæſar*, as one whoſe Father, Grand-

A. D. 1526.

A. D. 1526. Grandfather, and Brother had been our Sovereigns, and for the Expectations which had been formed of his Virtues. For theſe Reaſons we were very much concerned at his being deſpoiled of his Dominions in ſo ſudden a Manner, without knowing the Cauſe, not being certified that he had plotted againſt *Cæſar*; on the contrary it was aſſerted by himſelf, and by many others, that this Treatment proceeded rather from the covetous Ambition of him who at that Time governed the Army, than in Obedience to the Orders of *Cæſar*; and yet the whole City took an Oath of Fidelity to *Cæſar*; and ſubmitted to the Commands of his Generals. This was the Reſolution of the City of *Milan*, this the public Conſent, this the Counſel, and eſpecially of the Nobility. What Reaſon then, what Juſtice, what Example will allow that it ſhould be thus cruelly harraſſed and ruined for the Miſdemeanours of particular Perſons? But did not our Fidelity appear even on the very Days of the Tumults? For in the Inſurrection of the Multitude, who but we interpoſed with Authority

and

and Intreaties to make them lay down their Arms? Who but we, on the laſt Day of the Tumult, perſuaded the Ring-leaders and the ſeditious young Men to leave the City, and the Multitude to ſubmit to the Commands of the Generals? But both the Commemoration of our Works, and our Juſtification from the Calumnies with which we are aſperſed, would perhaps be neceſſary or convenient, if the Puniſhments which we ſuffer were proportionate to the Crimes of which we are accuſed, or at leaſt if they did not greatly tranſcend them; but how wide is the Difference! For we may venture to ſay, moſt juſt Prince, that if the Offences committed by each of us had been more heinous than ever were the Offences and Wickedneſſes committed by Cities againſt its Prince, the Pains, or, we may rather ſay, the Bitterneſs of the Puniſhments which we for no Cauſe endure, would be greater, without Compariſon, than what we ſhould have deſerved. We may venture to ſay that all the Miſeries, all the Cruelties, all the Barbarities (for our Honour's ſake not to mention Luſt) A. D. 1526.

which

A. D 1526. which were ever in the Memory of Man endured by any City, by any People, by any Congregation of Inhabitants, all theſe Evils collected together make but a ſmall Part of what we every Day, every Hour, every Moment of Time groan under, ſpoiled in a Moment of all our Goods, free Men conſtrained by Torments, by private Priſons, by Chains caſt about the Bodies of many of us by the Soldiers, to ſupply them continually with Victuals, not ſuch as are in uſe with military Men, but fit for Princes, to furniſh them with all thoſe Things which their craving Appetites, or greedy Covetouſneſs require, and to give them every Day more Money, which being impoſſible to procure they make uſe of Menaces, Injuries, Blows, and Wounds, ſo that there is not one of us who does not take it as a great Favour, and diſtinguiſhing Mark of good Fortune, if, leaving all his Subſtance for a Prey, he can but ſave his Perſon, and eſcape bare-footed from *Milan*, on condition of loſing for ever his Country and his Goods. *Frederic Barbaroſſa*, in the Days of our Great Grandfathers, laid this City

City deſolate for a Time, he exerciſed his Cruelties upon the Inhabitants, upon the Houſes, and upon the Walls; and yet the Miſeries of thoſe Times were not to be compared with ours, not only becauſe the Cruelties of an Enemy are more eaſy to be tolerated, as being more juſt, than the unjuſt Cruelty of a Friend, but alſo becauſe a Day, or Two or Three Days, would ſatiate the Anger and Bitterneſs of the Conquerors, and put an End to the Puniſhment of the Conquered. But we ſtill continue after more than a Month to ſtruggle under theſe ſevere Miſeries, our Torments increaſe every Day, and, like the Damned in another Life, we endure without Hopes of an End, what at firſt we ſhould have believed impoſſible for the human Conſtitution to have ſupported. We are in Hopes however that your Magnanimity, your Clemency will undertake our Succour in ſuch Evils, will take Care to provide that a City, become by lawful Right your own, committed to your Truſt, ſhall not, with ſuch great Barbarity, be abandoned to total Deſtruction: that by winning our Hearts with ſo A. D. 1526.

juſt

A. D. 1526. juſt a Pity, and by deſerving to be had in everlaſting Remembrance as the Father and Reſtorer of a City ſo renowned thro' the World, you will in one Day lay a firmer Foundation for your Government in the Benevolence and Devotion of your Subjects, than other new Princes will be able to lay with Arms and Forces in many Years.* To conclude, all that we have farther to ſay is, that if, for any Reaſon whatſoever, your Inclination ſhould not prompt you to deliver us from ſuch Evils, if any Impediment lie in the Way that cannot be removed, we beſeech you, from the Bottom of our Hearts, that you will cry Havock, and let looſe upon all this People, upon us all, upon every one, upon all Ages and Sexes, the Fury, the Arms, the Swords, and the Artillery of the Army; for it will be an unſpeakable Happineſs to us to die a violent Death, rather than to linger out a Life under the preſent Miſeries and Puniſhments. Nor will you be leſs celebrated for your Pity, if you can find no other Way to relieve us, than they will be infamous for their Barbarity, nor will it

it be leſs joyful to us to finiſh in this Manner a moſt unhappy Life, nor will thoſe who love us rejoice leſs at our Death, than Fathers and near Kindred are now uſed to do at the Birth of Children and of other dear Relations." A. D. 1526.

THIS Speech was followed by the miſerable Lamentations and Complaints of all the reſt; to whom the Duke anſwered with the greateſt Mildneſs, declaring that he was heartily ſorry for their unhappy Condition, and was no leſs deſirous to relieve and be beneficial to that City, and to the whole Dutchy of *Milan*; alledging in Excuſe that what had been done was not only contrary to the Will of *Cæſar*, but alſo to the Intentions of all the Generals; and that Neceſſity, becauſe they had found no Means for paying the Soldiers, had induced them rather to conſent to theſe Abuſes than to abandon *Milan*, or endanger the Army, and expoſe all the Dominions of *Cæſar* in *Italy* as a Prey to his Enemies: That he had indeed brought with him ſome Proviſion of Money, but not ſufficient, The Duke's Anſwer.

A. D. 1526. ent, becauſe the Soldiers were many Payments in Arrears. However if the City of *Milan* would furniſh him with Thirty Thouſand Ducats for the Pay of one Month, he would conduct the Army into Quarters out of *Milan*; declaring that, tho' he knew they had been deceived at other Times with the like Promiſes, they might very ſafely depend on his Word and Honour; adding an Imprecation, that his Head might be taken off by the firſt Ball that ſhould be fired from the Enemy's Cannon, if he ſhould not make good his Promiſe to them. This Sum, tho' very conſiderable to a City ſo greatly exhauſted, yet, the Miſery of quartering Soldiers exceeding all other Calamities, the Condition propoſed was accepted, and Meaſures were taken for collecting it with all poſſible Speed. But tho' Part of the Soldiers, on receiving the Money according as it came in, were ſent to quarter in the Suburbs of the *Roman* and *Toſan* Gates, there to guard the Ramparts, and help to fortify them, as they were at Work alſo on an Entrenchment towards the Garden, in the Place where *Proſpero Colonna* had made

made one, yet they kept Poſſeſſion of the ſame Quarters, as much as thoſe who had remained within the City, and committed the ſame Outrages; *Bourbon* either making no Account of his Promiſe, or unable, as it is ſuppoſed, to reſiſt the lawleſs Will and Inſolence of the Soldiery, fomented alſo by ſome of the Generals, who, either out of Ambition or Hatred, wilfully raiſed Difficulties, and obſtructed the Execution of his Purpoſes. A. D. 1526.

THE People of *Milan* deprived of this Hope, having no farther Expectations nor Refuge, fell into ſuch Deſpair, that, as we are well aſſured, ſome of them, to put an End to ſuch intolerable Miſeries and Puniſhments by Dying, ſince they found it impoſſible to do it by Living, threw themſelves from high Places into the Streets; others, miſerable Spectacles! hanged themſelves; nor was this ſufficient to moderate the Rapaciouſneſs and ſavage Barbarity of the Soldiers. Very miſerable alſo at this time was the Condition of the Country, oppreſſed and exhauſted, without the leaſt Compaſſion, by the Sol- Miſery of *Milan* and of the Country.

A. D. 1526. diers of the Confederates, whoſe Coming was at firſt expected by the Inhabitants with the greateſt Joyfulneſs, but they had now by their Rapines and Extortions converted the Benevolence of the People into the higheſt Degree of Hatred. But ſuch is the general Corruption of the Military of our Times, who, taking Example from the *Spaniards*, ravage and ruin Friends as well as Enemies without Diſtinction. For tho' the Licentiouſneſs of the Soldiers had for many Ages been great in *Italy*, yet it had received infinite Augmentation from the *Spaniſh* Infantry, but for a Reaſon, if not juſt, at leaſt neceſſary, becauſe in all the *Italian* Wars they had been very ill paid. But as from Examples, tho' excuſable in the Beginning, the Proceedings are always from bad to worſe, the *Italian* Soldiers, tho' not under the ſame Neceſſity, becauſe they were paid, yet, following the Example of the *Spaniards*, have begun to be no way inferior to them in their Enormities, whence, to the great Reproach of the Military of the preſent Age, the Soldiers make no longer any Difference between Friends and Foes, but ravage and

and do as much Miſchief to the People and Countries which they are paid to defend, as to thoſe they are paid to diſtreſs and invade. A. D. 1526.

By this time the Proviſions in the Caſtle of *Milan* were ſo far ſpent, that the Beſieged apprehended they muſt ſoon of Neceſſity ſurrender themſelves. But being deſirous to hold out as long as they could, becauſe ſome of the chief Officers of the Army of the Allies continued feeding them with Hopes of Relief, in the Night before the Seventeenth of *July*, they turned out, by the Gate of the Caſtle which looks towards the Entrenchment that incloſed it on the Outſide, above Three Hundred Perſons, between Foot, Women, Children, and uſeleſs Mouths; and tho' at the Noiſe which they made the Enemy's Guard gave the Alarm, yet meeting with no other Oppoſition, and the Entrenchment being ſo narrow as to be paſſable by the Help of Pikes, they all got over ſafe. There were Two Trenches at the Diſtance of Two Stone-caſts from the Caſtle, and betwixt Caſtle of *Milan* in extream Diſtreſs.

A. D. 1526. twixt them was a Rampart of about the Height of Four Braces, which ſerved not only as a Guard againſt the Caſtle, but alſo ſecured the Trenches againſt all Attacks from the Side towards the Field. The People that eſcaped went on to the Army at *Marignano*, and there atteſting the great Extremities to which the Beſieged were reduced, and the Weakneſs of the Entrenchments, which had been paſſed by Women and Children, prevailed on the Generals to return, and make an Attempt to relieve the Caſtle, with the Conſent of the Duke, who was not willing to take upon himſelf alone the Trouble of making Excuſes, which were not ſo eaſy to be made as before, becauſe, there being now in the Army above Five Thouſand *Swiſs*, there was no longer Room for the principal Reaſon which he had aſſigned of his Inactivity, which was the Danger of approaching *Milan* with none but *Italian* Foot.

It was therefore unanimouſly reſolved in Council that the Army ſhould, without making any further Attempts on

any

any other Part, directly approach the Caſtle, and, taking Poſſeſſion of the Churches of *San Gregorio* and *Sant' Angelo* near the outer Trench, poſt themſelves under *Milan*. With this Reſolution they broke up from *Marignano*, and, after a difficult March of Four Days by a Road encumbered with Banks and Ditches, on the 22d of *July* arrived between the Abbey of *Caſaretto* and the River *Ambro*, in a Place commonly called the *Ambra*. Here the Duke, varying from what had at firſt been reſolved in Council, would have the Army encamp with its Front towards the Abbey, leſs than two Miles from *Milan*, and the *Ambro* at its Back, extending itſelf on the Right Hand to the Key, and on the Left to the Bridge, ſo that it might be ſaid to be poſted between the two Gates of *Renza* and *Toſa*, becauſe it took in a little of the new Gate, and in thoſe Reſpects, and by the Nature of the Ceuntry, it was a very ſtrong Quarter. The Duke had choſen this Situation before that of the Monaſteries, becauſe, as he ſaid, it was nearer the Caſtle, and not ſo much under the

A. D. 1526.

Faint and unſucceſsful Attempt to relieve it.

A. D. 1526. Walls as to neceſſitate him to expoſe himſelf to Danger, or to be deprived of the Liberty of turning himſelf which Way he pleaſed; and becauſe the Enemies, threatened at ſeveral Quarters, would be obliged to keep ſtrong Guards at ſeveral Places, which, conſidering the Smalneſs of their Number, would increaſe their Difficulties. The Army arriving at this Poſt, a ſmall Detachment the ſame Day took Poſſeſſion of the Town of *Moncia* by Capitulation, and the next Day, by a Cannonade, took the Caſtle, in which were an Hundred *Neapolitan* Foot. And now the Debates in Council turned all on what was to be done for throwing Proviſions into the Caſtle of *Milan*, reduced, as they were aſſured, to the utmoſt Neceſſity, and for procuring, as they intended, a ſafe Egreſs to *Franceſco Sforza*: And tho' many of the General Officers, either becauſe it was really their Sentiment, or to ſhew themſelves courageous and valiant in Matters which muſt be determined with greater Hazard of the Honour and Reputation of others than of their own, adviſed an Attack of the Entrenchment, yet

yet the Duke of *Urbino*, who judged it a very dangerous Attempt, not by openly contradicting, but by propoſing Difficulties, and ſpinning out the Time, prevented the coming to a Concluſion. The Reſolution then being deferred till the next Day, the *Swiſs* Generals demanded to be introduced into the Council, *in* which they were not ordinarily preſent. The Governor of *Mus*, who had inliſted moſt of the *Swiſs*, and therefore retained among them the Title of Captain General, ſpoke for them, and declared that the *Swiſs* Generals were ſurpriſed that, ſince the War was begun for ſuccouring the Caſtle of *Milan*, and Affairs were in ſo neceſſitous a Situation, they ſhould boggle and heſitate, when there was Need of Spirit and Execution, and ſtand waſting the Time in Diſputes whether the Caſtle ſhould be relieved or not: That it was not to be ſuppoſed but that they would take ſuch a Reſolution as ſhould be conducive to the common Safety, and redound to the Honour of ſuch great Generals, and of ſo great an Army; in which Caſe they would let the Council know that they ſhould

A. D. 1526.

Words of the *Swiſs* in the Council.

A. D. 1526. take it as a very great Reproach and Affront if, in their Approach to the Caſtle, they were not aſſigned that Place and Share of the Fatigue and Danger which the Honour and Faith of the *Helvetic* Nation deſerved; and could not diſpenſe with themſelves from putting them in Mind, that in taking this Reſolution they were not to keep in Memory the Actions of thoſe of their Countrymen who had ſhamefully ruined the Enterpriſes in which they had been concerned, ſo as to forget the Glory and good Fortune of thoſe who had come off Conquerors.

WHILE the Time was waſted in theſe Conſultations, every one clearly perceiving that the Duke was of Opinion that the Caſtle could not be relieved, News came, though not as yet quite certain, that the Beſieged had capitulated, or were on the Point of capitulating, with the Imperial Commanders. The Duke, giving Credit to this Advice, ſaid, before all the Council, that this Event, though pernicious to the Duke of *Milan*, was deſirable and beneficial to the League, which was by that means delivered from its Apprehenſions

prehenſions that an ambitious Deſire or Neceſſity of ſuccouring the Caſtle would induce the Army to take ſome precipitate Step: That thoſe who had ever perſuaded themſelves that the Place might be relieved were highly imprudent, and that now, being delivered from that Danger, they were at Liberty to concert new Meaſures, and to give new Directions for managing the War in the ſame Manner as if it were the firſt Day of its Beginning. A. D. 1526.

Soon after certain Advice came of the Agreement, for the Duke of *Milan*, the Garriſon being reduced to ſuch Extremities for Want of Food that it could hardly ſubſiſt one Day, and utterly deſpairing of Relief, ſince the Army of the League, which had arrived two Days before in a Quarter ſo near, was obſerved to make no Motion, proceeded on the Treaty which he had for ſeveral Days, in order to be prepared in ſuch a Caſe, been negotiating with the Duke of *Bourbon*, who, as ſoon as the Army had retired, had ſent into the Caſtle to viſit him, and concluded the Capitulation on the Twenty-fourth of *July*. By the Articles he was to ſurrender, Caſtle of *Milan* ſurrendered. The Articles.

A. D. 1526. der, without Prejudice to his Rights, the Caſtle of *Milan* to the Generals, who were to receive it in the Name of *Cæſar*, having Liberty from them to march out in Safety, together with all thoſe who were in the Caſtle, and Leave to ſtop at *Como*, which was aſſigned him for his Reſidence with its Government and Revenues, till *Cæſar*'s Reſolution on the Affair ſhould be ſignified, and the Revenues were to be increaſed by an additional Income, making the Whole amount to the yearly Sum of Three Thouſand Ducats: That the Generals ſhould grant him a Paſs for his going to *Cæſar* in Perſon, and ſhould be obliged to pay the Soldiers in the Caſtle, whoſe Arrears to that Time were ſaid to amount to Twenty Thouſand Ducats: That *Gianangelo Riccio* and *Politiano* ſhould be delivered into the Hands of the Protonotary *Caracciolo*, that he might examine them, paſſing his Word to releaſe them afterwards, and to get them conducted to a Place of Safety; That the Duke of *Milan* ſhould ſet at Liberty the Biſhop of *Aleſſandria*, who was a Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Cremona*, and that *Caſtel-*

nuovo

nuovo in the *Tortoneſe* ſhould be given to *Sforzino*. There was no Mention made in this Agreement of the Caſtle of *Cremona*, the Surrender of which the Duke, when he could no longer hold out againſt Hunger, had ordered *Jacopo Filippo Sacco*, whom he had ſent to the Duke of *Bourbon*, if there was no other Way to obtain an Agreement, to promiſe the *Cæſarean* Generals. But *Jacopo* perceiving by their Speeches, and their Way of Management, their extraordinary Willingneſs to come to a Convention, and pretending that the Duke would never be perſuaded to give up that Caſtle, obtained that not a Word ſhould be ſaid about it. For the Imperial Generals, though pretty well aſſured, from a Multitude of Conjectures, that there was not much Proviſion in the Caſtle, and that Neceſſity would ſoon put them in Poſſeſſion of what they deſired, yet being willing to ſecure themſelves of it, they had reſolved to accept it on any Conditions, not being certain that the Army of the League would not attempt to ſuccour it; in which Caſe, being under Apprehenſions that the Trenches could not well be defended,

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A. D. 1526. fended, they had determined to march out and give Battle in the open Field, which dubious Event of Fortune they voluntarily avoided, and accepted what they could get from the Duke. The next Day the Duke marched out of the Caſtle, and was attended by many of the Imperial Officers to the Barriers of the Army, from whence, after he had tarried there a Day, he ſet out for *Como*. But the Imperialiſts pretending that they had engaged to allow him a ſecure Reſidence in *Como*, but not to remove the Troops which were there in Garriſon, not caring to truſt himſelf any longer with them, though he had before reſolved to do nothing that might further irritate the Mind of *Cæſar*, he went from thence to *Lodi*, which City was by the Confederates freely put into his Hands. And nothing of the Capitulation made with him being obſerved, except ſuffering him to march off in Safety with all his Men, and with their Effects, he ratified by a public Inſtrument the League made by the Pontiff and *Venetians* in his Name.

BUT at this ſame Time the Pontiff, tho', on account of the Motions of the *Colonnas*, he had publiſhed a Monitory againſt the Cardinal, and againſt others of the *Colonna* Family, yet ſeeing his Hopes of changing the Government of *Siena* much diminiſhed, and thinking it hard to be plagued in the Territory of *Rome*, readily lent an Ear to Don *Ugo di Moncada*, who propoſed to him, not with an Intention to bring about an Accommodation, but to render him careleſs and negligent in making Proviſions, certain Conditions for removing the Offence given him by the *Seneſe*, and for effecting a Reconciliation between him and the *Colonnas*. To ſet on Foot a Treaty for theſe Purpoſes, *Veſpaſiano Colonna*, a Perſon in whom the Pontiff confided, arriving at *Rome*, was the Cauſe that *Clement*, who had loſt all Hopes of happy Succeſs in his Enterpriſe upon *Siena*, and was thinking of withdrawing his Army from the Walls of that City, deferred the Execution of that wholſome Counſel, expecting, with leſſer Reproach, to call off his Troops as ſoon as this Agreement ſhould be concluded, tho' the Diſorders and Con- *A. D.* 1526.

A. D. 1526. fuſions in that Army ſtill increaſing it was reſolved in *Florence* to recal it. It happened that, the Day before it had been appointed to decamp, Four Hundred Foot ſallying out of the City, and taking their Way towards the Artillery, which was guarded by *Jacopo Corſo*, that Officer with his Regiment immediately turned their Backs, and in a great Hurry and Tumult beginning to fly, all the reſt of the Army, which was under no Obedience or Diſcipline, of their own Impulſe, without being attacked or purſued, betook themſelves to Flight, Generals and Commiſſaries, as well as Soldiers both Horſe and Foot ſtriving who ſhould ſooneſt get out of Danger, and leaving to the Enemies their Proviſions, Carriages, and Artillery, of which Ten Pieces between great and ſmall belonging to the *Florentines*, and Seven to the *Perugians*, were conveyed with vaſt Exultation, and in a ſort of Triumph into *Siena*, renewing, with great Shouts of that People, the Diſgrace of the Artillery which had a long Time before been loſt by the *Florentines* before the Walls of *Siena*, and were

Pope's Army routed before *Siena*.

were ſtill kept in the public Square of that City. *A. D.* 1526.

THIS Defeat was received the Day after the Caſtle of *Milan* came into the Hands of the *Cæſarean* Generals, and, on the ſame Day the Pontiff, for an Addition, to his private Afflictions, of the Calamities of the Chriſtian Commonwealth, had Advices from *Hungary* that *Solyman*, the *Ottoman* Prince, had marched from *Conſtantinople* with a very potent Army to make an Invaſion into that Kingdom, and after he had paſſed the River *Save* without Oppoſition, becauſe he had a few Years before made himſelf Maſter of *Belgrade*, had taken the Caſtle of *Peter Waradin*, and from thence having paſſed the River *Drave*, neither Mountains nor Rivers having been ſufficient to ſtop his Progreſs, it was apparent that all *Hungary* was in moſt manifeſt Danger. *Solyman invades Hungary.*

BUT in *Italy* it was plain that, by the Reduction of the Caſtle of *Milan* under the Power of *Cæſar*, the State of the War being greatly altered, it was neceſſary, as the

A. D. 1526. the Duke of *Urbino* ſaid, to form new Deſigns, and to take new Reſolutions, in the ſame Manner as it muſt have been done if the Caſtle of *Milan* had not been at the Beginning in the Hands of *Franceſco Sforza*. The Duke on this Occaſion, the ſame Day that the Caſtle was ſurrendered, diſcourſing with the Pontiff's Lieutenant, and the *Venetian* Proveditor, on the State of Affairs, intimated that it was neceſſary to conſtitute a Captain General of all the League, with a Commiſſion to command the Armies; that he did not demand this Charge more for himſelf than for others, but had however reſolved, without this Authority, to concern himſelf no farther than with the Command of the *Venetian* Troops, requeſting them to ſend Notice of it to *Rome* and to *Venice*. To diſſuade him from inſiſting on a Demand made at ſo unſeaſonable a Time, and highly reſented by the Pope, it was neceſſary for the *Venetian* Senate to ſend to the Camp *Luigi Piſano*, a Nobleman of great Authority, by whoſe Means this Ardor was rather ſomewhat moderated than extinguiſhed. But as for the Method of the future Proceedings

ceedings in the War, it was reſolved not to remove from the Camp till the Arrival of the *Swiſs*, who were liſted in the Name and by the Means of the King of *France*. And the Duke was of Opinion that after their Coming it would be neceſſary to form Two Camps at Two different Quarters about *Milan*, not to aſſault it, or attempt to force it, but to make it fall into their Hands for Want of Proviſions. This Method, he ſaid, he was confident would ſucceed in the Space of Three Months, always oppoſing with great Warmth the Opinion of thoſe who adviſed that, as ſoon as theſe Camps ſhould be formed, an Attempt ſhould be made to take that City by Storm, alledging that the League being very powerful in Money, and the Imperialiſts labouring under very great Difficulties in that Reſpect, they had all the Reaſons in the World to promiſe themſelves a proſperous Iſſue of the Enterpriſe, and no Reaſon to fear the contrary, but a Deſire to accelerate it, for the Enemies waſting away with Time and Patience, Affairs could not fail of being brought to a happy End. And when he was at any time an-

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Duke of *Urbino*'s Advice in managing the War.

Objection

A. D. 1526. ſwered that his Reaſoning would at all times hold very good, if he could reſt ſecure that no Succours of freſh Infantry would come from *Germany*, by which the Imperialiſts might be enabled to take the Field, in which Caſe it could not be denied that Affairs muſt remain wholly ſubject to the Will of Fortune, his Reply was that in this Caſe he promiſed himſelf a no leſs certain Victory, becauſe knowing *Bourbon*'s Heat he concluded that, whenever he imagined himſelf equal in Strength to the Army of the Confederacy, he would be for puſhing forward with ſo much Precipitation, as to give them an Opportunity of obtaining with Eaſe ſome conſiderable Advantage, which would haſten the Victory.

Duke's Anſwer.

BUT becauſe, on account of the Difficulties which are known to attend Levies of *Swiſs*, it was doubted that their Coming would be retarded many Days, and the Loſs of ſo much Time would be very detrimental, it was reſolved, by the Advice principally of the Duke of *Urbino*, the Duke of *Milan* alſo inſiſting on the ſame, immediately

immediately to detach *Malateſta Baglione* with Three Hundred Men at Arms, Three Hundred Light Horſe, and Five Thouſand Foot, to attack *Cremona*; an Enterpriſe judged eaſy becauſe the Garriſon conſiſted of little more than One Hundred Men at Arms, Two Hundred Light Horſe, One Thouſand of the choiceſt *German* Foot, and Three Hundred *Spaniards*, with very few Cannon, a leſs Quantity of Powder, and but a ſlender Stock of Proviſions, the People of the City, tho' diſpirited and dejected, yet Enemies, and the Caſtle againſt them, which, tho' it had been ſeparated from the City by a Trench, yet, from the Report of *Annibale Piccinardo*, the Governor, there were Hopes of laying open the Flanks, which would facilitate the Taking of the Place. Purſuant to theſe Counſels *Malateſta* took his March for *Cremona*, and the Army being weakened by this Detachment, the Duke of *Urbino* was under no ſmall Apprehenſions that the Troops which were in *Milan* would ſome Night or other attack him in his Camp; ſo far was the Situation of Affairs from giving Hopes of

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An Attempt ordered on *Cremona*.

A. D. 1526. Victory. Very frequent Skirmiſhes however paſſed by Order of *Giovanni de' Medici*, in which, tho' he greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his military Skill and Reſolution, and the Valour of the *Italian* Infantry, who had been deſpiſed before they came under his Command, was diſplayed much to their Honour, yet the Advantage, with reſpect to the main Point of the War, was leſs conſiderable than the Damage, by the Loſs of ſome of the beſt diſciplined and moſt courageous Soldiers of the Army.

King of *France* remiſs in proſecuting the War.

But in the mean time the ill Succeſs of Affairs had greatly weakened the Spirit of the Pontiff, who was not provided with Money for a long War, as this was likely to prove, nor diſpoſed to provide it by thoſe Methods which the Importance of the preſent Situation required, and with which other Pontiffs were uſed to ſupply their Neceſſities. But he was much more diſturbed, by obſerving that the Operations of the King of *France* did by no means correſpond to the Obligations of the League, and to what every one expected of him. For, beſides having been very dilatory in the

the Payment of the Forty Thouſand Ducats for the firſt Month, and remiſs in making the neceſſary Proviſions for the March of the *Swiſs*, no Preparations were obſerved to be made for opening the Campaign on the other Side of the Mountains, on a Pretence that it was firſt neceſſary to give Intimation to *Cæſar*, as ordered by the Articles of the Confederacy; ſince, if he ſhould proceed otherwiſe, the King of *England*, who was in a particular defenſive League with *Cæſar*, would perhaps come in to his Aſſiſtance; but, if Intimation were given, that Obligation would be of no Force, in which Caſe he would enter upon a War, and hoped that the King of *England* would do the ſame, having promiſed that, as ſoon as Intimation was given, he would make a Proteſtation to *Cæſar*, and afterwards enter into the Confederacy made at *Coignac*. The King proceeded alſo but coldly in preparing a maritime Force, and, what was a more manifeſt Indication of his Mind, the Five Hundred Lances which he was bound to ſend into *Italy* greatly delayed to paſs the Mountains. And tho' it was alledged that this Slowneſs proceeded

A. D. 1526.

A. D. 1526. either from the Negligence of the *French*, or from the Want of Money, and the Loſs of Credit, for ſome Years laſt paſt, with the Merchants of *Lions*, or from the extreme Weakneſs and Diſorder of the Men at Arms by the Loſs received in the Battle of *Pavia*, and becauſe they had received none or but very ſlender Pay ſince that Time, ſo that every Thing in a manner wanting to be put in Order it was not to be diſpatched without Length of Time, yet whoſoever conſidered with more Attention the Progreſs of Affairs began to doubt that the King preferred a long War before a quick Victory, as being apprehenſive that, as there is but little Faith and Confidence between Princes, the *Italians*, as ſoon as the Dutchy of *Milan* ſhould be recovered, paying but little Regard to his Intereſts, would either make a ſeparate Peace with *Cæſar*, or at leaſt would not heartily proſecute the War againſt him in ſuch a Manner as to oblige him to reſtore his Children.

Pope ſuſpicious of the King of *England*

THE Pontiff was held in the greater Suſpenſe by the Conduct of the King of *England*,

England, who being ſollicited to enter into the Confederacy, of which he had been the Encourager, not correſponding to his former Promiſes and Perſuaſions, demanded, rather for interpoſing a Delay than for any other Reaſon, that the Confederates ſhould oblige themſelves to pay him the Money due to him from *Cæſar*, and that the State and Revenue promiſed him in the Kingdom of *Naples* ſhould be exchanged for others in the Dutchy of *Milan*. A. D. 1526.

THE Pope was alſo under Apprehenſions that the *Colonnas*, who by their various Motions gave him continual Umbrage, would attack him with the Forces of the Kingdom of *Naples*: Collecting therefore in one View all the Difficulties, and all the Dangers, he was very importunate with his Confederates, that, beſides ſolliciting each Member of the Alliance to furniſh his Quota by Sea as well as Land, as expreſſed in the Articles of the League, they would with one Conſent attack the Kingdom of *Naples* with a Thouſand Light Horſe, and Twelve Thouſand Foot, and a Afraid of the *Colonnas*.

A. D. 1526. certain Number of Men at Arms; judging, from Effects during the Courſe of the War to this preſent, that Affairs could never be managed with proſperous Succeſs, if *Cæſar* were not moleſted in ſome other Quarter beſides the Dutchy of *Milan*. On theſe Motives he diſpatched away to the King of *France Giovambatiſta Sanga*, a *Roman*, one of his Secretaries, to invite him to carry on the War with more Vigour, and to repreſent to him how greatly he found himſelf exhauſted, and unable to bear the ſame Expences, if he were not aſſiſted by him with a Sum of Money: That though in forming the Confederacy there had been no Debate on attacking the Kingdom of *Naples* during the War in *Lombardy*, he was diſpoſed to undertake the Enterpriſe at preſent, in which the *Venetians*, though at firſt they made ſome Difficulty, becauſe they were unwilling to burden themſelves with ſuch great Expences, yet at laſt, overcome by his Importunities, had conſented to concur even without the King, but with a leſſer Number of Troops in Proportion to his Quota: To requeſt of the

Sollicits the King of *France* to join in an Expedition againſt *Naples*.

the King that, on this Account, beſides the Five Hundred Lances whom he de- A. D. 1526. ſigned to put under the Command of the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, induced rather, as he ſaid, by the good Fortune, than by the Qualifications of the Man, he would ſend Three Hundred Lances more into *Lombardy*, that Part of them might be ſpared for an Expedition againſt *Naples*: To ſollicit the Coming of the Fleet, to be employed either in ſtraitening *Genoa*, or againſt the Kingdom of *Naples*; the Equipment of which Fleet, though carried on by the *French* with the ſame Slowneſs as their other Proviſions, was yet continually preſſed, and went forward. The King's Quota of the naval Armament was four Galleons, and ſixteen light Gallies, that of the *Venetians* thirteen Gallies, and the Pope's eleven, over all which, at the Inſtances of the King, was appointed Captain General *Pietro Navarra*, though the Pope would rather have given the Command to *Andrea Doria*. Beſides all this, *Sanga* had very ſecret Orders to induce the King, if poſſible, to undertake the Enterpriſe againſt *Milan* for himſelf,

to

A. D. 1526. to give him Occaſion to rouſe himſelf to the War with all his Forces. *Sanga* had alſo a Commiſſion to proceed after this to the King of *England*, to requeſt of him a Supply of Money, ſince that King, who at firſt was ſo eager for a War againſt *Cæſar* that, if the League had been negotiated in *England*, as he and the Cardinal of *York* deſired, it was believed that he would have entered into the Confederacy, yet, the Time and the Neceſſities of the Caſtle of *Milan* not admitting of a long Negotiation, after he ſaw the League made by the others, contented himſelf with ſtanding neuter, as a Spectator and a Judge. The Pope alſo ſtimulated by the *Venetians*, and no leſs by the King of *France*, who for that Purpoſe had ſent the Biſhop of *Bajeux* to *Ferrara*, treated of compounding the Differences with that Duke, though rather for Show than Effect, propoſing to him ſeveral Conditions, and, amongſt others, to give him *Ravenna* in Exchange for *Modena* and *Reggio*; which Expedient was rejected by the Duke, not only becauſe, having taken Encouragement by the Retreat of the Army

Treats in vain of an Accommodation with the Duke of *Ferrara*.

Army from the Gates of *Milan*, he was become more difficult than uſual to comply with the Terms propoſed, but was more eſpecially averſe to that of *Ravenna*, both on account of the great Difference of the Revenues, and becauſe it ſeemed to him to give Occaſion for embroiling himſelf at ſome Time or other with the *Venetians*. A. D. 1526.

SUCH were the Negotiations, the Proviſions, and the Operations of the Confederates, delayed, interrupted, and varied, according to the Forces, the Views, and the Counſels of the Princes. But *Cæſar*, whoſe Reſolutions depended on himſelf, was by no means careleſs or irreſolute in exerting the utmoſt of his Strength. Wherefore the King of *France* having, at the Requeſt of the Ambaſſadors of the Confederates, refuſed Leave to the Viceroy, who demanded it even with Tears, to paſs into *Italy*, that Miniſter, after refuſing Preſents to the Value of Twenty Thouſand Ducats, was returned into *Spain*, carrying with him a Schedule, written with the King's own Hand, ſignifying that he was ready to obſerve the Convention of *Madrid*,

A. D. 1526. *Madrid*, on changing the Reſtitution of *Burgundy* into the Payment of Two Millions of Ducats. *Cæſar*, at the Return of the Viceroy, loſing all Hopes that the King of *France* would obſerve the Capitulation, reſolved to ſend him into *Italy* with a Fleet carrying on board the *German* Foot, who, to the Number of little leſs than Three Thouſand, had their Quarters at *Perpignan*, and as many *Spaniſh* Foot as would make the whole amount to Six Thouſand effective Men. He took care alſo to ſend to *Milan* a new Supply of One Hundred Thouſand Ducats, and haſtened as much as poſſible the Equipment of the Squadron, which could not be ready to put to Sea ſo ſoon as wiſhed, becauſe, beſides the Time required for getting the Ships together, and preparing the *Spaniſh* Troops, it was neceſſary to pay the *Germans* One Hundred Thouſand Ducats, for which they were in Arrears. Beſides this, he was every Day giving out Commiſſions for making new Levies of Foot in *Germany* to be ſent to *Milan*; but providing no Money to pay them, and his Brother being unable to make any Proviſion of that Kind

Cæſar's Preparations.

Kind on account of his Poverty, that Expedient proceeded very ſlowly; and yet the Slowneſs and unproſperous Succeſs of the Confederates gave Room enough for any Delay. A. D. 1526.

FOR *Malateſta*, arriving before *Cremona*, erected, in the Night of the Seventh of *Auguſt*, a Battery againſt the Gate of *Muſſa*, imagining that Place to be weak, becauſe it was but badly flanked, and had no Rampart; and as he deſigned to give an Aſſault at the ſame Time from the Side of the Caſtle, he thought it for his Purpoſe to plant his Cannon at a good Diſtance, that the Beſieged might be ſo much the more neceſſitated to divide their Forces. But after the Battery had played for ſome Time the Place was found to be ſtrong, and to be lined with a good Rampart, and the Breach made in the Wall to be too high from the Ground. *Malateſta* therefore thought fit not to give the Aſſault, but changing his Reſolution ſet about erecting a new Battery, near the Caſtle, in a Place called *Santa Monaca*, where *Federigo da Bozzolo* had formerly planted his Cannon; and Siege of *Cremona*.

A. D. 1526. and at the ſame time he drew Two Trenches in the Square of the Caſtle, one running from the right Hand towards the *Po*, where the Garriſon had made Two Entrenchments, and he was in Hopes, by means of this Trench, to make himſelf Maſter of a Redoubt, to which he was already approached within Six Braces, and which was within the firſt Entrenchment of the Beſieged near the Wall. On this Redoubt, which was to ſerve him for a Platform, he deſigned to plant Cannon to play on the Curtain, which the *French* had formerly battered; for Prevention of which the Imperialiſts erected another Redoubt behind their Second Entrenchment. The other Trench of *Malateſta* extended from the left Hand towards the Wall, and was ſo near that of the Beſieged as to be within a Stone's Caſt; and as ſoon as thoſe Trenches ſhould be compleat and fit for his Purpoſe, the General deſigned to erect a Battery; nor were the Workmen much annoyed by the Enemy's Cannon, for in *Cremona* were no more than Four Falconets, which very ſeldom fired becauſe there was but a ſmall Stock of Powder; but the Garriſon were continually

continually making Sallies, which much incommoded the Labourers in the Trenches, and frequently put them in great Diſorder, tho' they had a ſtrong Guard. *Malateſta*, as one at a Loſs, and uncertain how to proceed, was continually teazing and perplexing, not much to his Honour; with various Sentiments contained in his Letters, the Generals of the Army, who finding the Siege become every Day more difficult ordered to his Camp Twelve Hundred *German* Foot lately liſted at the common Charge of the Pontiff and *Venetians*. And a few Days after, to prevent any ill Effects of the Diſcord and Emulation between *Malateſta* and *Giulio Manfrone*, there marched thither, with a Detachment of Three Thouſand Foot from the Army, the Proveditor *Peſaro*, who from an intimate Friend was almoſt grown out of Favour with the Duke of *Urbino*. But *Malateſta*, in the Night before the Thirteenth Day of *Auguſt*, ordered Four Pieces of Cannon to be planted between the Gate of *Santo Luca* and the Caſtle, in order to poſſeſs himſelf of a Baſtion, which being battered almoſt a whole Day, he carried on the

A. D. 1526.

A. D. 1526. the Trench home to it, in Hopes to become Maſter of it that ſame Night. But about Four Hours within Night a few *German* Foot ſallied out of the Town, and falling upon the Guard of the Trench, which within and without amounted to above One Thouſand Men, put them in Diſorder, and forced them to abandon it; but the next Day the *Germans* were obliged to leave it, ſo that the Trench which coſt ſo much Labour remained abandoned by both Parties. But Fortune had a mind to ſhew herſelf favourable to the Beſiegers, if they had been ſo wiſe as to know or take the Opportunity; for the Night before the Fifteenth there tumbled down, of itſelf, about Fifty Braces of the Wall between the Gate of *San Luca* and the Caſtle, together with a Piece of Cannon; and had the Beſiegers been quick, and given the Aſſault by Break of Day, the Garriſon, who were under a Conſternation at the ſudden Accident, had no Hopes of making Reſiſtance, becauſe the Place where they muſt have ſtood in making a Defence was commanded by the Cannon of the Caſtle. But while *Malateſta* delayed, firſt in taking a Reſolution,

Reſolution, and afterwards in putting his Men in Order to ſtorm the Breach, the Beſieged were hard at Work, and the firſt Thing they did was to throw up a Bank or Rampart to cover themſelves from the Artillery of the Caſtle, and then they caſt up another in Front of the Enemy; ſo that when the Aſſault was given, which was not done till Four Hours before Night, tho' the greater Part of the Army was employed on that Side, yet, as they were too much expoſed, they approached with very conſiderable Loſs; and in the Attack, beſides other Defences, they were miſerably annoyed by Showers of Stones inceſſantly poured upon them from the Place, by which *Giulio Manfrone*, Captain *Macone*, and many other Soldiers of good Note, were killed on the Spot. At the ſame time another Aſſault was given by the Way of the Caſtle, in which the Beſiegers were repulſed, but with inconſiderable Loſs: And a Third Attack was alſo deſigned on the Breach made by the Battery at *Santa Monaca*, with Eighty Men at Arms, One Hundred Light Horſe, and One Thouſand Foot; but the Ditch being A. D 1526.

A. D. 1526. found full of Water, and the Place well fortified, they retired without attempting any thing. After this arrived the Proveditor *Peſaro*, with Three Thouſand *Italian* Foot, above One Thouſand *Swiſs*, and ſome more Artillery, in order to raiſe Two briſk Batteries. As there were now above Eight Thouſand Foot in the Camp, it was reſolved to form Two Attacks, and to carry on each Attack with Three Thouſand Foot, beſides another with Two Thouſand on the Side of the Caſtle. The Beſiegers having got together a vaſt Number of Pioneers worked with great Diligence on the Trenches, one of which, being opened on the Twenty-third of *Auguſt*, they advanced, after a long Diſpute, ſo far as to command a Flank of the Enemy. The Night before the Twenty-ſixth Two Batteries were finiſhed, one under the Direction of *Malateſta* beyond the Place where *Federigo* had raiſed a Battery, the other againſt the Gate of *Muſſa*, which was directed by *Camillo Orſino*. But neither Battery had any manner of Succeſs, for the Ground which *Malateſta* had choſen, being marſhy, could not ſupport the Weight

Weight of the Artillery, but ſunk and gave way at every Firing, ſo that the Balls ſtruck the Wall too high; and though the Battery of *Camillo* ſtruck low, yet there being a Ditch on that Side full of Water, and the Approaches well flanked with Harquebuſiers, it was impracticable to advance that Way. Wherefore, tho' an Aſſault was given in ſpite of theſe Difficulties, the Aſſailants were beaten off with great Loſs; and though on the Side of *Malateſta* the Troops advanced to the Wall, after paſſing a Ditch in which the Water was higher than had been imagined, they were eaſily repulſed. On the Side of the Caſtle alſo Part of the Cavalier, or Platform, was beaten down, and the Soldiers mounted the Breach, but the Deſcent on the Inſide proving too high the Beſiegers, who had carried on the Attack from firſt to laſt with little Order, were repulſed, and had many of their Number killed and wounded, with very little Loſs to the Beſieged. A. D. 1526.

THESE Diſorders, with the Deſpair of taking *Cremona* by any other Method, for

A. D. 1526. there was no Command nor Obedience in that Camp, obliged the Duke of *Urbino* to repair thither in Perſon. Taking therefore with him almoſt all the *Venetian* Troops in the Army that was about *Milan*, and leaving there Part of the Men at Arms, with all the Eccleſiaſtic Forces, and the *Swiſs*, which were arrived to the Number of Thirteen Thouſand, deſpiſing, now there remained a ſmaller Number of Troops, and thoſe deprived of a Head of ſuch Authority, that Danger, of which before, when attended with greater Forces, he pretended to ſtand in continual Dread, and declaring that it was not the Cuſtom of Men of War, and of *Spaniards* leſs than others, to attack other Men of War in the Strength of their Entrenchments, he ſet out for the Camp before *Cremona*, with a Deſign to make himſelf Maſter of it, not by Force of Storm and Battery alone, becauſe the Fortifications of the Enemy were too formidable, but, by making Approaches to their Trenches and Redoubts with the Help of a vaſt Multitude of Workmen, to carry the Place by the Force of Spades and Pickaxes, rather than of Swords and Guns.

Duke of Urbino ſets out for Cremona.

Guns. The Management of the Duke in this Enterprise against the State of *Milan* was blamed by the Imperial Generals on many Accounts, but especially for the Retreat from *Milan*, and no less for having at first attempted, in so weak a Manner, and with so few Forces, to besiege *Cremona*, from a vain Confidence that it was easy to take it, and, after he had discovered the Difficulties of the Enterprise, for continuing to employ in it such a Part of the Army, as to lose greater Opportunities, which offered during the Time that was wasted before that City. For the entire Number of the *Swiss*, so greatly desired, being arrived, it was easy, by blocking up *Milan*, as it had been always designed, with two Armies, to intercept the vast Quantities of Provisions that were continually conveyed into it by the Way of *Pavia*, which was not effected by the Army alone which lay at *Ambra*, because it required the Command of a great Circuit of Ground. But it was of much more Importance to lose the Opportunity, which perhaps presented itself, of taking *Milan* by Force: For the Troops within the

A. D. 1526.

His Conduct censured.

A. D. 1526. City were become ſo ſickly, that it being difficult to find ſound Men enough to go upon Duty and the ordinary Guards, it was the Opinion of many, and of the Imperialiſts themſelves, that had they, in ſuch a Circumſtance, been vigorouſly puſhed, the Place would have been in great Danger of being loſt.

Motions of the Confederate Fleets.

But a greater and a certain Opportunity was preſented of taking *Genoa*: For the *Venetian* Squadron having joined that of the Pontiff at *Civita Vecchia*, the combined Fleet ſailed to the Port of *Livorno*, where they waited the Arrival of the *French* Squadron, which conſiſting of ſixteen Gallies, four Galleons, and four other Ships, was advanced on the Coaſt of the *Weſtern Riviera*, and had, by voluntary Surrender, taken Poſſeſſion of the City of *Savona*, and of all that *Riviera*, after which they took ſeveral Veſſels laden with Corn for *Genoa*, and proceeded to *Livorno* to join the others. It had been alſo reſolved to equip, at the common Coſt of the Allies, in the Port of *Marſeilles*, twelve large Ships, either for attacking, according

according to the Advice of *Pietro Navarra*, in Conjunction with the *French* Gallies, the Fleet that was fitting out in the Port of *Carthagena*, or at leaſt to engage it after it had put to Sea. The three combined Fleets then ſetting Sail the 29th of *Auguſt*, the Eccleſiaſtic and *Venetian* Squadrons put in at *Porto Fino*, and the *French* returned to *Savona*, from which Stations commanding all the Seas without Oppoſition, *Genoa*, where was a Scarcity of Proviſions, was reduced to ſuch Straits, that, as nothing could enter it by Sea, it is not doubted but that, if a Body of Troops had been ordered to cut off all Communication with the City by Land, which was its only Support, it muſt of Neceſſity have capitulated. Nor did the Admirals of the Fleets, ſometimes by Letters, ſometimes by proper Meſſengers, inſiſt on any further Proviſion, demanding only that at leaſt Four Thouſand Foot ſhould be ſent to block up the Place by Land; but neither could any Troops be ſpared from the Camp before *Cremona*, nor did the Duke of *Urbino* or the other Commanders think it ſafe to diminiſh th

A. D. 1526.

Genoa blocked up by Sea.

A. D. 1526. Army that lay near *Milan*; for which Reaſons they were amuſed with Hopes of obtaining a ſufficient Number of Land Forces after the Reduction of *Cremona*.

THE Enterprize againſt the City of *Cremona*, from the Valour and ſtout Reſiſtance of the Defendants, and the Greatneſs of the Works carried on by the Pioneers, proceeded every Day with more Tediouſneſs than had been imagined. For the Duke, who had taken care to have in his Camp Two Thouſand Pioneers, with good Store of Artillery and Ammunition, and a vaſt Plenty of Working-tools of all Sorts, continually preſſed the Working in the Trenches of the Caſtle for advancing to the Redoubt towards the *Po*, in order to poſſeſs himſelf of it, and make it ſerve him as a Cavalier for erecting a Battery on it, though the Enemy, having for ſeveral Days before miſtruſted his Deſign, had retired from it to a ſtrong Rampart erected behind it. He worked alſo at the two Heads of a Trench that croſſed the Square of the Caſtle, in order to ruin the Cavaliers raiſed by the Enemy, and between

between the two Trenches of the Field the Workmen drew another Trench, ſix Braces wide, covering themſelves before and at the Side with Ramparts of Earth, for raiſing a Cavalier as ſoon as they had penetrated to the Ditch of the Enemy's Intrenchment. They worked alſo at carrying on a Ditch without the Caſtle towards the Wall of the Town, for making Way to a Baſtion towards the ruined Wall; and they worked on another Trench from the Gate of *Santo Luca* to the ſame Wall. All this while the Cannon of the Caſtle kept playing on the Enemy's Ramparts, which, from the Badneſs of the Earth, that was looſe and crumbled, were eaſily penetrated through. In the mean time the Beſieged were not idle; for, doubting that they could not long keep Poſſeſſion of their Intrenchments and Cavaliers, they worked on a Ditch towards the Buildings of the City, and yet made frequent Sallies, attacking the Workmen with great Vigour, and in the Night before the Seventh attacked the Trenches that were making on the Side of the Caſtle in three different Places, and finding the Guard almoſt

A. D. 1526.

A. D. 1526. almoſt all aſleep, killed above an Hundred of them, beſides ſeveral Officers, and penetrated to the Ravelin of the Caſtle. They became, however, more and more ſtraitened; for the Duke of *Urbino* having carried the Trenches to their Ramparts which ſeparated the Caſtle from the City, cauſed them to be attacked by ſome Harquebuſiers, and choſen Men covered with Targets, who did good Execution, in Conjunction with the Artillery from the Turrets of the Caſtle. The Imperialiſts therefore ſet Fire to the Rampart of the Cavalier, that it might not ſerve for a Parapet to the Enemy; and the Beſiegers having on the 19th by their Trenches made a Deſcent into the Ditch in two Places, they retired to another Intrenchment, at which the Duke of *Urbino* was not much concerned, becauſe they had not Time to well fortify themſelves, and having retired to a larger Poſt a greater Guard was required to defend it. On the Side of the Field, however, though the Works had been perfected, the Siege was carried on ſomewhat ſlowly, becauſe it had been found neceſſary to re-eſtabliſh and recruit

recruit the *Venetian* Foot, who had been a long Time without Money, and therefore much diminiſhed in Number, one Diſorder always coming upon the Back of another in the Affairs of the Confederates. A. D. 1526.

While theſe Things paſſed, the Imperialiſts made frequent Salliſes in the Night, in order to make an Attempt on the Trenches, but in vain, for the Experience of the Blow they had received had put the Beſiegers on their Guard. But the Duke, who had ſufficiently recruited and augmented his Foot, on the 22d began very diligently to batter a Tower on the Side of *Federigo*'s Battery, where, after a very few Diſcharges, perceiving that the Enemies were reduced to ſuch Straits that they could not refuſe capitulating, he ſent into the Place a Trumpet to demand the City, who returned to the Camp with a *German* and a *Spaniſh* Officer, and with *Guido Vaina* of *Forli*: And the next Day a Capitulation was ſigned, by which the Garriſon, if not relieved before the End of the Month, was to evacuate *Cremona*, the *Germans* obtaining Leave to return into *Germany*, and the

Cremona ſurrendered to the Allies.

A. D. 1526. the *Spaniards* to retire into the Kingdom of *Naples*, on a Promiſe not to engage in defending the State of *Milan* for four Months enſuing. They were to leave behind them all their Artillery and Ammunition, and to march out with Colours furled, and without Sound of Drum or Trumpet, except juſt when they began to move.

In the mean time the King of *France*, at whoſe Court a few Days after arrived, in quality of Legate, Cardinal *Salviati*, who had departed out of *Spain* by *Cæſar*'s Permiſſion, anſwered to the Requeſts that were made him in the Name of the Pontiff by way of Excuſe, alledging that if his Works ſhould not be equal to his Will the Reaſon muſt be aſcribed to his being greatly exhauſted of Money; but, however, if he would grant him a Power to exact a Tenth of the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues in his whole Kingdom, he would aſſiſt him with Part of the Money collected by that Means as far as Two Thouſand Ducats each Month, and would concur in the War of *Naples*. He refuſed, tho'

King of *France*'s Anſwer to the Demands of the Pontiff.

tho' at firſt he ſhewed ſome Inclination to it, to endeavour at the Acquiſition of *Milan* for himſelf, *Lautrech* eſpecially, and his Mother, diſſuading him from it. He gave ſome Hopes of beginning a War on the other Side of the Mountains, but ſaid it was neceſſary there ſhould be a previous Intimation, which being made he offered to take the Field on the Side of *Flanders*, and of *Perpignan*. It was however perceived that he was not diſpoſed to make ſuch a Step, his Mind, in that Reſpect, agreeing with the Inclination of the King of *England*, with whom the Applications made on the Part of the Pontiff had produced but very little Effect; for the Cardinal of *York*, willing to amuſe every Body, and to be intreated by all, prevented Matters from being brought to any Concluſion, it being uſual for the King and the Cardinal to anſwer to ſuch Sollicitations, "We have no Concern with the Affairs of *Italy*," A. D. 1526.

AT this Juncture the Confederates, being apprehenſive that the *Griſons*, who during the Siege of the Caſtle of *Milan* had

A. D. 1526. had recovered and dismantled *Chiavenna*, would list under the Duke of *Bourbon*, or at least permit the *Germans*, who were expected to reinforce him, to pass through their Country, the Pontiff and the *Venetians* engaged to take Two Thousand *Grison* Foot into their Service, and to pay the Governor of *Mus* (who, out of Fear of the Duke of *Milan*, at his Coming to the Army, had fled from the Camp, and afterwards, pretending that there was Money owing to him for the Payments of the *Swiss*, had seized and imprisoned Two *Venetian* Ambassadors that were going to *France*) Five Thousand Five Hundred Ducats which they had promised him, to restore to them the like Sum, which the said Governor had exacted of them, and to cause them to be freed from the new Duties which he had imposed on those who navigated the Lake of *Como*. The *Grisons*, on the other Side, obliged themselves to hinder the Passage of the *Germans*, and took effectual Care that *Tegane*, their General, hired by the Duke of *Bourbon*, with Two Thousand Foot, should not march.

Grisons hired by the Confederates.

BUT

BUT in the mean time the other Affairs of *Lombardy* proceeded but coldly; for the Army about *Milan*, in which the Number, but not the Pay, of the *Swiſs* was diminiſhed, ſtood idle, employing themſelves in nothing but in Skirmiſhes according to Cuſtom. More diligent and induſtrious, as well as more troubleſome and miſchievous, were the *Spaniards* who lay in Garriſon at *Carpi*; for having ſecret Intelligence by Spies, and the Advantage of Shelter in the Territory of the Duke of *Ferrara*, they gave vaſt Obſtruction to the Paſſage of the Couriers and other Perſons to the Army, and, ſcowering all the circumjacent Countries as far as the *Bologneſe* and *Mantouan*, committed innumerable Ravages, tho' upon none but the Eccleſiaſtic Subjects. A. D. 1526. *Spaniards in Carpi* troubleſome.

AT laſt the Marquis of *Saluzzo* had paſſed the Mountains, and was arrived in *Piedmont* with Five Hundred *French* Lances, on whoſe Coming *Fabritio Maramaus* who had laid Siege to *Valenza*, in which was a Garriſon commanded by *Giovanni da Birago*, and was battering it with his Artillery, Marquis of *Saluzzo* arrives in *Piedmont*.

A. D 1526. Artillery, retired to *Baſignano*. But the Marquis refuſing to paſs any further, unleſs the Confederates, by an equal Share, paid him for Four Thouſand Foot, which he had, with that Intention, brought with him out of *France*, and the King with great Earneſtneſs inſiſting on the ſame for the Security of his Men at Arms, and for the greater Reputation of the Marquis, it was neceſſary to conſent to it. At the ſame time *Sinibaldo dal Fieſco* ſeized on the Town of *Pontriemoli*, which was in the Poſſeſſion of *Sforzino*, but it was ſoon recovered with the ſame Eaſe by means of the Caſtle. In *Milan* was a great Scarcity of Money, for not the leaſt Supply came from *Cæſar*, and ſuch was the Poverty and intolerable Expences of the *Milaneſe*, that they found it a difficult Matter to make up the Thirty Thouſand Ducats which the People had promiſed to the Duke of *Bourbon*, under whom liſted *Galeazzo da Birago*, and *Lodovico da Belgiojoſo*, who had hitherto, at all Adventures, followed the *French* Party, becauſe their Service had not been accepted by the Confederates on account of the vaſt Expence which

Money ſcarce in *Milan*.

which they ſuſtained; at this time *Giovanni da Birago* took Poſſeſſion of *Novi*. A. D. 1526.

AMIDST theſe Movements the State of the Marquis of *Mantoua* was in a manner common to all, the Marquis pleading in Excuſe that he was in the Pay of the Pontiff, and a Feudatory of *Cæſar*; nay farther, when his Term was nearly expired, he contracted with the Pontiff and the *Florentines* for Four Years longer, with an expreſs Condition of not being bound to ſerve with his Perſon or State againſt *Cæſar*. In the Beginning of the War however he was deſirous of going in Perſon into the Army, which the Pontiff not approving, becauſe he could not rely on his Conduct, had anſwered him, that, ſince he was a Feudatory of *Cæſar* he would not expoſe him to ſo much Danger. Such was at that time the State of Affairs in *Lombardy*. In *Tuſcany* the *Florentines*, tho' without Armies or Arms in their Territory, were yet ſenſible of the Troubles of War by their Expences. For the Pontiff, unable to ſupply himſelf with Money by the ordinary Methods, and obſtinately refuſing to make

Ambiguous Conduct of the Marquis of *Mantoua*.

A. D. 1526. uſe of any extraordinary Ways and Means to procure it, moſt unmercifully laid upon them almoſt the whole Burden of the Expences in *Lombardy*. The *Seneſe* were not without Moleſtation in their maritime Ports; for *Andrea Doria*, who had, at the Beginning, poſſeſſed himſelf of *Talamone* and *Portercole*, occaſioned them to ſtand continually upon their Guard, tho' *Talamone* was not long after, by the Commander of the Garriſon, reſtored to the *Seneſe*. The Exiles alſo, at the Inſtigation of the Pontiff, raiſed ſome Diſturbances in the maritime Country, in which *Giampaolo*, Son of *Renzo da Ceri*, in the Pope's Service, ſome Horſe having ſurpriſed the Gate of the Town of *Orbatello*, came up himſelf afterwards with his Horſe and Foot, and took Poſſeſſion of the Place.

Affairs of Tuſcany.

But at *Rome* happened Events of very great Moment, brought about not by Force of Arms, but by Fraud, highly diſgraceful to the Pontiff, and deſtructive of the hopeful Situation of Affairs in *Lombardy*, where it was expected that, by means of the Acquiſition of *Cremona*, the Enterpriſe

on

Genoa would be brought to an Iſſue, and that it would be practicable, according to the Firſt Deſign, to form Two different Camps about *Milan*. For, after the Defeat received at *Siena*, the Pontiff having no Hopes of exerting his Strength for diſtreſſing the *Colonnas* to any great Effect, and having turned his Thoughts on attacking with the greater Force, as was mentioned, the Kingdom of *Naples*, and on the other Side, the *Colonnas*, and the Agents of *Cæſar* diſtruſting their own Abilities for performing any Thing of Moment againſt the Pontiff, and, deſirous to annoy him, and make him loſe Time till the Arrival of the Viceroy with a Fleet from *Spain*, having diſpatched to *Rome Veſpaſiano Colonna*, on whoſe Faith the Pope depended, both Parties had, on *Auguſt* 22, entered into a Convention, by which the *Colonnas* were to reſtore *Anagnia*, and the other Places they had taken; to withdraw their Troops into the Kingdom of *Naples*, and keep no Soldiers for the future in the Towns which they poſſeſſed within the Eccleſiaſtic Dominions; that they might freely ſerve *Cæſar* againſt any Power in defence of the King-

A. D. 1526.

Articles between the Pope and the *Colonnas*.

A. D. 1526. dom of *Naples*: On the other Part the Pontiff was to pardon all Offences; to aboliſh the Monitory iſſued againſt Cardinal *Colonna*; and not to moleſt the States of the *Colonnas*, nor ſuffer them to be moleſted by the *Orſini*. While the Pontiff thought himſelf ſecure under this Capitulation, and relied eſpecially on the Faith of *Veſpaſiano*, he ſet his Heart at Reſt, and unwarily diſbanded his Horſe, and almoſt all the Foot which he had levied, and ordered thoſe few which remained into Quarters in the circumjacent Towns and Villages; and began to cool in his Project of invading the Kingdom of *Naples*. The frequent Complaints and Proteſtations which the *Cæſarean* Miniſters reſiding in *Rome* received from *Milan* and *Genoa*, declaring that if the Progreſs of the Confederates was not interrupted by ſome powerful Diverſion, thoſe Cities could no longer ſupport themſelves, determined them, ſince they had no Means to continue an open and vigorous War, and ſuch as might procure a Remedy ſo quick as the Caſe required, to ſet their Wits and Inventions upon the

Rack

Rack for circumventing and oppreſſing the Pontiff by Subtilty and Snares. A. D. 1526.

WHILE theſe Traps were laying for the Pontiff, that, beſides the Afflictions which he ſuffered in his private Concerns, he might have Cauſe to afflict himſelf and be humbled on a public Account, News came that *Solyman* the *Ottoman*, Prince of the *Turks*, had in a pitched Battle defeated *Lewis* King of *Hungary*, obtaining the Victory no leſs by the Raſhneſs of the Enemy than by his own Forces. For the *Hungarians*, tho' very few in Number if compared with the great Multitude of the Enemies, confiding more in the many Victories which they had heretofore gained over the *Turks* than in the preſent Condition of Affairs, perſuaded the King, young in Years, but younger ſtill in Counſel, not to obſcure the Renown, and antient military Glory of his People by waiting for the Succours which were coming from *Tranſylvania*, but to put himſelf on his March to meet the Enemy, and not to decline engaging in the open Field, in which the *Turks*, by the innumerable Multitude of

Lewis King of *Hungary* defeated and ſlain by *Solyman*.

A. D. 1526. their Horſe, are in a manner invincible. The Event therefore was anſwerable to the Temerity and Imprudence of the Undertaking; the Army, which was compoſed of all the Nobility and valiant Men of *Hungary*, was defeated with a very great Slaughter, and the King himſelf, with many of the principal Prelates and Barons of the Kingdom periſhed.

FROM this Victory the Pontiff aſſuring himſelf that the *Turk* would endeavour to ſecure to himſelf the whole Kingdom of *Hungary*, to the very great Detriment of all Chriſtendom, of which that Kingdom had been, for a long Courſe of Years, the Buckler and Bulwark, was wonderfully diſturbed, as new Vexations make deeper Impreſſion on Minds already labouring under Perturbations and Afflictions, than on ſuch as are void of other Paſſions. Revolving therefore in his Mind new Projects, and giving evident Tokens of his immenſe Grief in his Geſtures, Speeches, and the Air of his Countenance, he called a Conſiſtory, and in moſt pathetic Terms lamented to the Cardinals the vaſt Loſs and Reproach

Pope's Speech in a Conſiſtory.

Reproach that had fallen on the Chriſtian Commonwealth, againſt which he himſelf had not been wanting to provide, both by continually exhorting and beſeeching the Chriſtian Princes to make Peace among themſelves, and, amidſt ſo many other weighty Concerns of his own, by aſſiſting that Kingdom with no ſmall Sum of Money; that he had declared, and was very ſenſible from the Beginning, that the preſent War happened very incommodiouſly and unſeaſonably for the Defence of that Kingdom, and of the reſt of Chriſtendom; but that ſince he ſaw all honourable and reaſonable Conditions of Quietneſs and Security for the Apoſtolic See, and for *Italy* deſpiſed and rejected, he had been induced by Neceſſity to take up Arms, contrary to what had once been his Intention; for both the Neutrality which he had obſerved before this Neceſſity, and the Conditions of the League which he had made, all done with an Eye to the common Welfare, were ſufficient to demonſtrate that he was not moved by any Regard to his own private Intereſts, or to thoſe of his Family; but A. D. 1526.

A. D. 1526. ſince it had pleaſed God, perhaps for ſome good End, that the Head of Chriſtendom ſhould be wounded, and at a Time when all the other Members of this Body were diſtracted with other Thoughts than ſuch as tended to the common Benefit, he did believe it was his Will that ſome other Method ſhould be ſought for healing ſo grievous a Diſorder; and therefore, ſince this Care belonged more to his paſtoral Office than to any other, he was diſpoſed, poſtponing all Conſideration of Inconveniency, Danger, and of his own Dignity, as ſoon as a Suſpenſion of Arms could on any Conditions be procured in *Italy*, to embark on board his Gallies, and go in Perſon to meet with the Chriſtian Princes, in order to obtain of them by Perſuaſions, by Prayers, by Tears, an univerſal Peace among Chriſtians; that he adviſed the Cardinals to prepare themſelves for this Expedition, and to aſſiſt the common Father in ſo compaſſionate an Office; and prayed that God would be favourable to ſo holy a Work, or, if, on account of the common Sins, it could not be brought to Perfection, he would at leaſt be pleaſed to grant

grant him the Favour to take him off by Death, in the Midſt of his Negotiations, before he ſaw himſelf excluded from all Hopes of obtaining his End, ſince no greater Misfortune or Miſery could befal him, than to loſe all Hopes, and the Power of reaching forth a ſalutary Hand to aſſiſt in extinguiſhing ſo pernicious and peſtiferous a Combuſtion. A. D. 1526.

THE Propoſal of the Pontiff was heard with great Attention, and with no leſs Compaſſion, and highly commended. But it would have been much more commended, if his Words had carried with them as much Credit as they had Weight and Dignity in themſelves: For the major Part of the Cardinals interpreted them as flowing rather from a Senſe of the Difficulties and Diſtreſs to which he was now reduced by the War, than from Apprehenſions and Commiſeration of the Danger of *Hungary*, ſince he had taken Arms againſt *Cæſar* at a Time when, from the open Preparations of the *Turks*, the Danger of that Kingdom was imminent and manifeſt. But of this, however, there

A. D. 1526. there can be no certain Proof. For the *Colonnas*, entering on the Execution of their premeditated Treachery, had ordered *Ceſare Filletino*, their Partiſan, with Two Thouſand Foot to *Anagnia*, where the Pontiff had Two Hundred Foot in Pay, with a Show, in order to conceal their Project, as if they intended to poſſeſs themſelves of that Town; but having formed another Deſign, they ſeized on all the Paſſes, and uſing the utmoſt Diligence, that no Advice of their Progreſs might be carried to *Rome*, aſſembled the Troops ſent towards *Anagnia*, and with thoſe and their other Forces, making in the whole about Eight Hundred Horſe, and Three Thouſand Foot, but almoſt all of them of the Militia, marching with great Speed, ſo as to prevent all Notice of their Coming, arrived at *Rome* the Night before the 20th of *September*, and ſuddenly ſeizing on Three Gates of the City, entered through the Gate of *San Giovanni Laterano*, attended in Perſon not only by *Aſcanio*, and Don *Ugo di Moncada*, the Duke of *Seſſa* being dead many Days before at *Marino*, but alſo by *Veſpaſiano*,

Pope ſurpriſed by the *Colonnas*.

who

who had been the Mediator of the Agree- A. D. 1526.
ment, and had ſolemnly engaged for himſelf and all the reſt of his Party, and likewiſe by Cardinal *Pompeo Colonna*, ſo far tranſported with Rage and Ambition, that he had conſpired to lay violent Hands on the Pontiff, deſigning alſo, as it was the common and conſtant Opinion, by Arms and Violence, to force the Cardinals to elect him, and with bloody Hands, and by wicked and ſacrilegious Deeds to ſeize on the vacant Seat of the Pontiff. *Clement*, when it was Day, adviſed of their Coming, and that they were aſſembled about *San Coſimo* and *Damiano*, endeavoured in vain, full of Fear and Confuſion, to appeaſe the Tumult; for he had no Forces of his own to defend himſelf, and the People of *Rome*, partly glad of his Misfortune, partly judging themſelves not concerned in the public Loſs, made no Sign of beſtirring themſelves in his Favour. Hence the Enemies, increaſing in Boldneſs, advanced forwards, and poſted themſelves with all their Forces at *Sant' Apoſtolo*, from whence they detached about Five Hundred Foot, with ſome Horſe, over the Bridge of

San

A. D. 1526. *San Siſto*, to the other Side of the *Tiber*, who, after ſome Reſiſtance, diſlodging, from the Portico of *San Spirito*, *Stefano Colonna*, an Officer in the Pope's Pay, who had poſted himſelf there with Two Hundred Foot, took their Way, through the Old Suburb, towards *St. Peter's*, and the Pontifical Palace. The Pope had not quitted the Palace, but imploring in vain the Aſſiſtance of God and of Man, and inclining to die in his Seat, was preparing, after the Example of *Boniface* VIII. under the Inſult of *Sciarra Colonna*, to place himſelf, veſted with the Pontifical Habit and Ornaments, in the Pontifical Chair. But the Cardinals that were about him conjuring him, if not for his own Sake, yet at leaſt for the Safety of that Holy See, and that the Honour of God might not be ſo wickedly violated in the Perſon of his Vicar, to remove, he was, with great Difficulty, diverted from his Purpoſe, and retired, together with ſome of thoſe Cardinals in whom he could put moſt Confidence, into the Caſtle, towards Noon, and at a Time when not only the Foot and Horſe that came firſt, but alſo all the reſt of

the

the Troops were plundering the Palace, and the Furniture and ſacred Ornaments of the Church of *St. Peter*'s, with no more Regard to the Majeſty of Religion, and the Horror of Sacrilege, than the *Turks* had in the Churches of the Kingdom of *Hungary*. They afterwards entered the New Suburb, of which they plundered about a Third Part, not daring to proceed any further, for fear of the Artillery of the Caſtle. A. D. 1526.

AFTER this the Tumult, which laſted a little more that Three Hours, being appeaſed, without any Damage or Moleſtation to the City of *Rome*, Don *Ugo*, under the Pontiff's Faith, after receiving as Hoſtages for his Security the Cardinals *Cibo* and *Ridolfi*, the Pontiff's Grand Nephews, went into the Caſtle to confer with him, where, in Terms ſuitable to a Conqueror, he propoſed Conditions of a Truce. The Anſwer was deferred till the next Day, when was concluded an Agreement, or Truce, between the Pontiff, in his own Name and that of the Confederates, and *Cæſar*, for Four Months, with

Pope makes a Truce with *Cæſar*.

A. D. 1526. Articles.

with two Months more for giving Notice of its Expiration *, and Liberty for the Confederates to come into it within Two Months. In this Truce were to be included not only the Eccleſiaſtic State and the Kingdom of *Naples*, but alſo the Dutchy of *Milan*, the *Florentines*, the *Genoeſe*, ths *Seneſe*, and the Duke of *Ferrara*, with all the Subjects of the Church mediate and immediate. The Pontiff was forthwith to withdraw his Troops which were about *Milan* to this Side of the *Po*, and to recall *Andrea Doria* with his Gallies from the Fleet; to pardon the *Colonnas*, and every one who had been concerned in this Inſult; to give, as Hoſtages for his Obſervance of this Truce, *Filippo Strozzi*, and one of the Sons of *Jacopo Salviati*, whom he engaged to ſend to *Naples*, within Two Months, under the Penalty of Thirty Thouſand Ducats: And, on the other ſide, the Imperialiſts and the *Colonnas* were to remove their Troops from *Rome*, and from the whole State of the Church, and cauſe them to retire

* *Con Diſdetta di due altri Meſi.*

retire towards the Kingdom of *Naples*. A. D. 1526.
Both Parties heartily concurred in this Truce; the Pontiff, becauſe the Caſtle had no Store of Proviſions for his Subſiſtence, and Don *Ugo*, tho' againſt the Remonſtrances of the *Colonnas*, becauſe he thought he had done enough for the Benefit of *Cæſar*, and becauſe almoſt all the Troops with which he had entered *Rome*, being loaded with Plunder, were diſperſed into different Parts.

By this Truce, all the Schemes of the Allies in *Lombardy* were broken, and the Acquiſition of *Cremona* rendered quite fruitleſs; for tho', about the ſame time, the Marquis of *Saluzzo* with the *French* Lances arrived in the Army, yet, for want of the Pontiff's Troops, which, purſuant to the Truce, on the Seventh of *October* retired for the greateſt Part to *Piacenza*, the Deſign of ſending Troops to *Genoa*, as well as the Project for ſtraitening *Milan* with Two Armies, were rendered abortive. Occaſion alſo of ſome Diſturbance was given by the Duke of *Urbino*, who, as ſoon as the Agreement

was

A. D. 1526. was made with the Garriſon of *Cremona*, without waiting the Delivery of the Place, took his Way to the *Mantouan*, to viſit his Wife, tho' he had before received Advice of the Truce made at *Rome*; and having conſented to prolong the Time for the Troops in *Cremona* to evacuate that Place, the Departure of the Forces employed about that City was ſo long deferred, that it was the Middle of *October* before he returned with them to the Army, to the vaſt Prejudice of all the Operations. For Conſultations were held on ſending Troops to *Genoa*, which was ſollicited with more Earneſtneſs than ever by *Pietro Navarra*, and the Proveditor of the *Venetian* Fleet; and the Army, when rejoined by the *Venetian* Troops, was ſtrong enough to ſpare a Detachment ſufficient for that Enterpriſe, without being obliged to remove its Camp: For the Marquis of *Saluzzo* had brought with him Five Hundred Lances, and Four Thouſand Foot, and they expected every Day Two Thouſand *Griſons*, liſted in purſuance of an Agreement made with that People; and the Pontiff, tho' he openly made a Show of his Willingneſs to

Duke of *Urbino* cenſured.

to obſerve the Truce, yet having a different Intention in reſerve, had left in the Army Four Thouſand Foot under the Command of *Giovanni de' Medici*, from a Pretence that they were in the Pay of the King of *France*; an Excuſe, for which there was an apparent Colour, becauſe that Officer was continually in the King's Pay, and retained the Command of a Troop of Men at Arms under his Commiſſion. A. D. 1526.

AT laſt the Troops broke up from *Cremona*, the Poſſeſſion of which was yielded to *Franceſco Sforza*; the *Germans*, with their Commander *Conradino*, took the Road towards *Trento*, but the *Spaniſh* Horſe and Foot having paſſed the *Po*, in order to purſue their March to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Lieutenant making ſome Difficulty to grant them Patents and a ſufficient Paſs, becauſe the Pontiff did not like that they ſhould go to *Naples*, on a ſudden took the Road over the Mountain of *Piacenza*, and, after ſpeedily repaſſing the *Po* at *Chiarella*, made their Way in Safety into the *Lomellina*, and from thence to *Milan*. Not only the Lieutenant broke up with the Troops of the *Cremona* yielded to *Sforza*.

A. D. 1526. Pontiff from the Walls of *Milan* in Obſervance of the Truce, but alſo *Andrea Doria* with his Gallies moved off from *Genoa*, out of which City a few Days before had marched Six Thouſand Foot, partly in Pay, partly Volunteers, (for in *Genoa* were Four Thouſand Men in Pay) with Orders to attack *Philippino dal Fieſco*, who had landed with Six Hundred Foot; but *Filippino* had ſo well fortified himſelf with Entrenchments and Redoubts on the Top of a Mountain, near to *Porto fino*, that he conſtrained them to retire with conſiderable Loſs; but not long after *Andrea Doria*, with ſix Gallies, returned from *Porto fino*, in order to continue, in conjunction with the reſt, the Blockade of *Genoa* by Sea.

The League notified to *Cæſar*.

But in the mean time, while theſe Tranſactions paſſed with various Events in *Italy*, the Ambaſſadors of the Pontiff, the King of *France*, and the *Venetians*, on the Fourth of *September* (ſo long had they delayed taking that Step!) intimated to *Cæſar* the League which they had made, with the Liberty given him to enter into it on the Conditions expreſſed in the Articles.

The

The Ambaſſador of the King of *England*, being preſent at this Act, delivered to him a Letter from his Maſter, in which he modeſtly adviſed him to enter into the League. *Cæſar*, after hearing the Intimation, made Anſwer to the Ambaſſadors, that it was inconſiſtent with his Dignity to enter into a Confederacy made principally againſt his State and Honour; but as he had been always very much diſpoſed to an univerſal Peace, of which he had made ſo evident a Demonſtration, he offered to accompliſh one at preſent, if they had ſufficient Commiſſions for that Purpoſe. Hence it was believed that he was really averſe to a Peace, but propoſed this Negotiation the better to juſtify himſelf, and to give the King of *England* Cauſe to forbear entering into the League, and, beſides, to ſlacken by this Hope the Preparations of the Allies, and then to create ſome Jealouſy and Diſtruſt between them by means of this Treaty. He took care however, on the other ſide, to haſten the Equipment of his Fleet, which was getting together in the celebrated Port of *Carthagena*, and ſaid to conſiſt of Forty Sail, and to have on board Six Thouſand

A. D. 1526.

His Anſwer.

He prepares a Fleet.

A. D. 1526. Foot in Pay; and, to preſs forward their putting to Sea, the Viceroy ſet out from Court on the Twenty-fourth of *September*, *Cæſar* ſhewing himſelf much more dextrous and more diligent in Buſineſs than the King of *France*, who, though he was involved in Affairs of the deepeſt Concern, conſumed the beſt Part of his Time in Hunting, Balls, and Entertainments of Women, while his Children, all Hopes of his obſerving the Agreement being vaniſhed, had been conducted to *Valladolid*.

Pope arms in his Defence.

THE Coming of this Fleet conſtrained the Pontiff, who diſtruſted the Faith of the Viceroy and the *Spaniards*, to arm himſelf. Wherefore he had not only called to *Rome Vitelli* with his Regiment and that of his Nephews, but alſo an Hundred Men at Arms from the Marquis of *Mantoua*, and an Hundred Light Horſe from *Piermaria Roſſo*; and from the Army were ſent him Two Thouſand *Swiſs* at his own Charges, and Three Thouſand *Italian* Foot. And yet he was continually declaring his Intentions of going into

pain,

Spain, in order to have an Interview with *Cæſar*, from which he was diſſuaded by almoſt all the Cardinals, eſpecially as going on an Uncertainty, and adviſed firſt to ſend Legates. A. D. 1526.

THE Duke of *Urbino* being returned to the Army, and without Hopes of obtaining *Milan* by Famine or Force of Arms, and the Commanders of the Fleet ſolliciting him with the greateſt Earneſtneſs to ſend ſome Troops for diſtreſſing *Genoa* by Land, he reſolved, in order to put himſelf in a Condition for anſwering that Purpoſe, to decamp with the Army from the Walls of *Milan*, but to make ſuch Diſpoſitions as ſhould continually obſtruct the Conveyance of Proviſions to that City. With this View he began with fortifying *Moncia*, in order to leave in it a Garriſon whoſe Buſineſs ſhould be to moleſt the Convoys coming from the Mountain of *Brianza* and the circumjacent Places; and, after he had fortified *Moncia*, his Intention was to remove the Army to a Poſt from whence he might intercept the Proviſions that were continually going from *Biagraſſa*

A. D. 1526. and *Pavia*. As ſoon as this Poſt was fortified, the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, with his Foot, and a Body of *Swiſs*, was to march towards *Genoa*; a Motion ardently deſired by the Fleet, that City being already reduced to ſuch Extremities for want of Food, as to be hardly able to ſubſiſt. But theſe Reſolutions being of ſuch a Nature as not to be put in Execution under a much greater Length of Time than was ſuitable to the State of Affairs, and to the Neceſſities of *Genoa*, nothing now being wanted for obtaining that City but intercepting the Convoys of Proviſions by Land, the Things deſigned were never brought to an Iſſue, though there were in the Army Four Thouſand *Swiſs*, Two Thouſand *Griſons*, Four Thouſand Foot under the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, Four Thouſand, in the Pay of the Pontiff, under *Giovanni de' Medici*, and the *Venetian* Foot, which, according to their Obligations and Affirmations, were Ten Thouſand, but, according to Truth, a much leſſer Number.

Deſigns of the Duke of *Urbino* abortive

THE Army, at length, broke up on the laſt of *October*, from the Camp, in which

which they had ſo long continued, and poſted themſelves at *Pioltello*, five Miles diſtant from their former Station, having in decamping had a great Skirmiſh with the Troops of *Milan*, who had ſallied out with *Bourbon* in Perſon. It was the Intention of the Duke of *Urbino* to continue at *Pioltello* ſo long as to give Time for finiſhing the Fortifications of *Moncia*, in which he deſigned to leave Two Thouſand Foot, with ſome Horſe, and afterwards to move with the Army to *Marignano*, where he had reſolved to make another Encampment, and after he had pitched his Camp, and fortified it, and perhaps alſo, as he ſaid, firſt taken *Biagraſſa*, to ſend Troops to *Genoa*: Operations that required ſo much Time as gave Cauſe to blame him, though he alledged, in Part of his Excuſe, the bad Proviſions of the *Venetians*, who, not paying their Foot at due Times, always fell very ſhort of the Number which they had promiſed, and many of thoſe which they had going off on deferring their Pay, they were neceſſitated, when they made their Payments, to replace them with

A. D. 1526.

A. D. 1526. new ones, ſo that it might be ſaid, with an Appearance of Truth, that they had a new Soldiery, and a new Army. But this Delay, which had hitherto appeared voluntary, began to have ſome Cauſe, and Colour of Neceſſity. For, after many Debates held in *Germany* about ſending Succours of Foot into *Italy*, which, on account of the Inſufficiency of the Archduke, and becauſe *Cæſar* had made no Remittances of Money, had proved fruitleſs, *George Fronſperg*, a Man heartily concerned for the Intereſt of *Cæſar*, and for the Glory of his Nation, and who had twice, with the higheſt Reputation, commanded a large Body of Foot, in the Service of *Cæſar*, againſt the *French* in *Italy*, reſolving to ſupply the Deficiency of the Princes with his private Subſtance, excited, by his Authority, a Multitude of Foot, by ſhewing them what a fair Opportunity offered for Plunder, and enriching themſelves in *Italy*; and having agreed with them, that, on receiving of him a Crown each Man, they ſhould follow him to the Aſſiſtance of *Cæſar*, and obtained of the Archduke a Supply of Artillery

G. Fronſperg raiſes Forces for *Cæſar* in *Germany*.

Artillery and Horſes, he prepared for the Expedition, appointing the Rendezvous of all the Troops between *Bolzano* and *Marano*. A. D. 1526.

THE Fame of theſe Preparations ſpreading into *Italy* gave Occaſion to the Duke of *Urbino* to lay aſide all Thoughts of moleſting *Genoa*, which was reduced to the laſt Extremity, though *Andrea Doria*, abating of his firſt Demands, inſiſted only on Fifteen Thouſand Foot, intending to furniſh the like Number himſelf. But the Duke denied this Requeſt alſo, alledging, for his Excuſe, the Neceſſity he was under of detaching Fifteen Thouſand of the *Venetian* Foot for the *Vicentine*, from a Fear, which had ſeized the *Venetians*, that the *German* Succours would direct their March by that Road. This Opinion the Duke confuted, perſuading himſelf that they would take the Way of *Lecco*, for which Reaſon he would not move from his Camp at *Pioltello*, that he might be nearer the *Adda*, publiſhing abroad that he deſigned to march and meet them, and to give them Battle on the Duke of *Urbino* diſconcerted.

A. D. 1526. the other Side of the *Adda*, at their Coming out of the *Valle di Sarſina*.

THE Affairs of *Lombardy* thus tending to be involved in new and greater Difficulties, a new Combuſtion was alſo kindled in the City of *Rome*: For the Pontiff, under a Conſternation of Mind from the Inſult of the *Colonnas*, and inclining to Peace, and to ſail with the Fleet to *Barcelona*, in order to treat in Perſon with *Cæſar* on an Accommodation, had, as ſoon as the Enemies had quitted *Rome*, ſent *Paolo d'Arezzo*, of his Bedchamber, to the King of *France*, to obtain his Conſent for his Paſſage to *Cæſar*, in order to negotiate a Peace, and alſo to repreſent to the King his Neceſſities, and his Dangers, and to demand of him an Hundred Thouſand Ducats to enable him to defend himſelf. In theſe Matters he was ſo inconſiſtent with himſelf, that, while he wanted Money of the King, and a greater Alacrity to the War, he not only denied him the Tenths, inſiſting on Half for himſelf, which the King rejected, ſaying, it was never the Cuſtom in *France*, but alſo could

Pope's inconſiſtent Conduct.

could not prevail with himſelf to advance to the Purple the Great Chancellor, who, by his Authority in the King's Councils, and becauſe all the Diſpatches of Money paſſed through his Hands, might have been of very great Service to him in all his Deſigns. The King did not fail to condole, with *Paolo* and the other Nuncios, the Misfortune of *Rome*, and to offer the Pontiff every thing for his Defence, to convince him that he could no longer put any Confidence in *Cæſar*, to encourage him, and to perſuade him to break off the Truce, in which Caſe, he ſaid, and not otherwiſe, he was willing to pay the Twenty Thouſand Ducats each Month, as he had engaged. He was adviſed to the ſame Purpoſe by the King of *England*, who alſo diſſuaded him from going to *Barcelona*, and had before, on the firſt Notice of the Accident at *Rome*, ſent him Twenty-five Thouſand Ducats. The King of *France* diſſuaded the Pope's Going to the Princes, as a Step which, for its Importance, deſerved much Conſideration: And at firſt he refuſed Leave to *Paolo* to proceed to *Cæſar*, either becauſe he

A. D. 1526.

A. D. 1526. he had a Suſpicion that the Pontiff would begin a ſeparate Negotiation with him, or becauſe, as he ſaid, it was more honourable to treat of a Peace by the Mediation of the King of *England*, than ſeem to beg it of *Cæſar*. However, not long afterwards, on new Inſtances made from *Rome* for his Going, he conſented to it, either becauſe he really deſired Peace, or becauſe he began to diſlike to have it negotiated by the King of *England*, whoſe Proceedings were ſuch as gave him juſt Reaſon to doubt that, for his own particular Intereſt, he would draw him into inconvenient and diſadvantageous Conditions, ſince that King, or rather the Cardinal of *York*, under his Name, full of Ambition, and deſirous to be Judge of every thing, propoſed extravagant Conditions, and, having alſo different Ends from thoſe of the others, would ſuffer him to be over-reached by *Cæſar*, and would not be ſorry that the Dutchy of *Milan* ſhould, by means of the Peace, be given to the Duke of *Bourbon*, provided he were to eſpouſe *Cæſar*'s Siſter, that ſo he might have

have free Power to marry his own Daughter to the King of *France* *. A. D. 1526.

THE Perſuaſion therefore which the two Kings uſed with the Pontiff, the Fear of loſing his Confederates, and, being deprived of their Support, of becoming a Prey to *Cæſar* and his Miniſters, the Stimulation of his own Counſellors themſelves, the Indignation he had conceived againſt the *Colonnas*, and his Deſire, by taking a juſt Vengeance of them, to recover, in ſome meaſure, his loſt Honour, induced him to turn thoſe Forces againſt the Towns of the *Colonnas* which he had before called to *Rome* only for his own Security; judging that no Reaſon obliged him to obſerve that Agreement, which he had made not voluntarily, but deceived by their Frauds, and forced, with a Breach of Faith, by their Arms. The Pontiff then ſent *Vitello* with his Troops to do all the Miſchief he could to the *Colonnas*, deſigning to burn and level all their Towns, becauſe, on account of the inveterate Affection of the People and of the Party, the

Pope falls upon the *Colonnas*.

Taking

* *Cæſar*'s Siſter *Eleanora* had been promiſed to the Duke of *Bourbon*, but by the Treaty of *Madrid* ſhe was to be married to the King of *France*.

A. D. 1526. Taking of them only was of little Prejudice. At the ſame time he publiſhed a Monitory againſt the Cardinal and others of his Family, by Virtue of vhich he afterwards deprived the Cardinal of the Dignity of the Cardinalſhip. That Prelate, ſeeking to defend himſelf with the Bill of Simony, had before publiſhed Appeals in *Naples*, and appealed to a future Council. Againſt the other *Colonnas*, who were liſting Horſe and Foot in the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Pontiff ſuperſeded his Pronunciation of the Sentence. The Troops entered their Territories, and burnt *Marino* and *Monteforfino*, but their Caſtles ſtill held out for the *Colonnas*. They laid even with the Ground *Gallicano* and *Tagarolo*, the *Colonnas* chuſing to defend only the ſtrongeſt Places, and eſpecially the Town of *Palliano*, ſtrong by its Situation, which renders it difficult to bring Cannon before it, and acceſſible only by three Ways, of which one cannot ſuccour another, it had alſo a very thick Wall, and the Men of the Place were very well diſpoſed to defend it. It is however believed that

that if *Vitello* had marched with Speed to attack it, though many Inhabitants of the Towns that were taken had fled thither for Refuge, he would have made himſelf Maſter of it, becauſe there were no regular Troops in the Place. But while he delayed to march thither, agreeably to his natural Diſpoſition, which made every thing appear to him full of Difficulties and Dangers when it came to be put in Execution, Five Hundred *German* and *Spaniſh* Foot, ordered thither from the Kingdom of *Naples*, and Two Hundred Horſe entering the Town in the Night, rendered the Enterpriſe ſo difficult, that *Vitello*, who at that time kept his Troops about *Grotta ferrata*, thought no more of attacking *Palliano*, nor yet *Rocca di Papa*, but, after ſending ſome Troops to erect a Battery againſt the Caſtle of *Montefortino*, in which the *Colonnas* had a Garriſon, reſolved to aſſemble his whole Force at *Valmontone*, rather to cover the Country from an Invaſion on the Side of the Kingdom of *Naples*, than with Hopes of performing any thing of Moment. A. D. 1526.

THIS

A. D. 1526.

THIS Conduct procured *Vitello* ſufficient Blame from the Pontiff, who, at this Time when he had deſigned to attack the Kingdom of *Naples*, and afterwards when he called the Troops to *Rome* for his Defence, was deſirous to employ in that Expedition *Vitello* and *Giovanni de' Medici*, Generals united in the Bonds of Friendſhip and Kindred, in whom the Coldneſs and Remiſſneſs of one ſeemed proper to moderate and be moderated by the Heat and Fierceneſs of the other. But *Giovanni* being drawn by the Fates to an untimely Death in *Lombardy*, the Pontiff had, by the Counſel of the Lieutenant, ſerved himſelf in the mean time, in leſſer Concerns, of *Vitello*, and delayed to call the other till he had an Occaſion, either of greater Neceſſity, or for a greater Enterpriſe, that he might not, during that Time, deprive the Army of a Man, who, by his Courage and Valour, was a Terror to Enemies, and a Safeguard to Friends; and the more becauſe of the hot Reports of the Coming of the *German* Foot, which, with the Advices

Advices that the *Spaniſh* Armada was on the Point of ſailing from the Port of *Carthagena*, conſtrained the Pontiff, who was alſo greatly ſtimulated by the Confederates and by his own Council, to think of making ſome Compoſition, to which he had been always very averſe, with the Duke of *Ferrara*, not ſo much to ſecure himſelf from his Movements, as to draw from him a great Sum of Money, and to induce him to put himſelf at the Head of the Army in quality of Captain General of the whole Forces. *A. D.* 1526.

Adviſed to an Accommodation with the Duke of *Ferrara*.

THE Pontiff, after many Debates on this Subject with *Matteo Caſella* of *Faenza*, the Duke's Ambaſſador, commiſſioned his Lieutenant, who was at *Parma*, to repair to *Ferrara*, giving him in Show a Brief with very ample Powers, but reſtraining his Commiſſion to the conſenting to repoſſeſs the Duke of *Modena* and *Reggio*, in Conſideration of receiving from him in a ſhort time Two Hundred Thouſand Ducats; to oblige him to declare himſelf and act in the Army as General of the League, and to conſent that his eldeſt Son ſhould

A. D. 1526. take to Wife *Caterina*, the Daughter of *Lorenzo de' Medici*; and to try alſo if it were practicable to procure another Match between a Daughter of the Duke, with a competent Dowry, and *Ippolito de' Medici*, Son of the late *Giuliano*. There were many more Inſtructions, which were not only in a manner inextricable in themſelves from the Shortneſs of the Time, but alſo the Pontiff, who had not condeſcended to them but out of the laſt Neceſſity, had charged him to come to no perfect Concluſion about them without freſh Advices and Commiſſion. This Commiſſion was a few Days after enlarged, both in the Inſtructions and in the Power of concluding, becauſe the Pontiff had Advice that the Viceroy was arrived in the Bay of *San Fiorenze* in *Corſica* with Two and Thirty Ships, having on board Three Hundred Horſe, Two Thouſand Five Hundred *German* Foot, and between Three and Four Thouſand *Spaniſh* Foot. But the Will of the Pontiff now became of no Signification, for aboard the ſame Fleet was an Agent of the Duke of *Ferrara*, who, being diſpatched from the ſaid Place with great Diligence,

It miſcarries.

ligence, not only gave the Duke Advice of the Arrival of the Fleet, but alſo brought with him from *Cæſar* the Inveſtiture of *Modena* and *Reggio*, with a verbal Promiſe of giving in Marriage *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, natural Daughter of *Cæſar*, to *Ercole*, the Duke's eldeſt Son. On theſe Accounts *Alfonſo*, who before was in longing Expectation of the Coming of the Lieutenant, changing his Mind, imagining alſo that, by the Approach of the *Germans* and of the Armada, Affairs were taking a very favourable Turn for *Cæſar*, notified, by his Counſellor *Jacopo Alveroto* of *Padoua*, to the Lieutenant, who had ſet out from *Parma*, and was got as far as *Cento*, the Diſpatches he had received from *Spain*, by which, tho' he was not obliged to act offenſively againſt the Pontiff or the League, yet, having received ſo much Kindneſs from *Cæſar*, it was not fit to treat any more about acting againſt him; and that a Stop being, by this means, put to the Negotiation for the Sake of which he was coming to *Ferrara*, he had thought fit to ſignify it to him, leſt his Silence ſhould give juſt Cauſe of Anger to the Pontiff, nor forbid- A. D. 1526.

A. D. 1526. ding however his Proceeding to *Ferrara*, but leaving it to his Choice whether he would come or not.

THE Lieutenant, convinced by this Declaration that his Journey would be fruitleſs, was not willing any longer to intereſt the Reputation of the Pontiff in a Treaty without Hopes of Succeſs, and recalled alſo by the neceſſitous Condition of the Affairs of *Lombardy*, after propoſing a new Scheme of Agreement, immediately returned to *Modena*. The whole State of the Church on that Side became every Day more expoſed to Danger; for *George Fronſperg*, with the *German* Foot, to the Number of between Thirteen and Fourteen Thouſand, having taken the Road that lies through the Valley of *Sabbio*, and by the Caſtle of *Anſo*, towards *Salo*, was now arrived at *Caſtiglione dello Strivieri* in the *Mantouan*. To oppoſe this new Invader, the Duke of *Urbino*, who, in order to be in a Readineſs to march and meet him, had conducted the Army to *Vauri* on the *Adda* between *Trezzo* and *Caſſano*, and thrown a Bridge there, and fortified that Poſt,

Duke of *Urbino* marches againſt the *Germans* under *Fronſperg*.

Poſt, leaving in it the Marquis of *Saluzzo* with the *French*, *Swiſs*, *Griſons*, and his own Foot, took his March on the Nineteenth of *November* from *Vauri*, accompanied by *Giovanni de' Medici* at the Head of Six Hundred Men at Arms, and by a great Number of Light Horſe, and between Eight and Nine Thouſand Foot, deſigning not to attack the *Germans* directly in the Field, but to infeſt them, and incommode their Convoys of Proviſions, which, he ſaid, was the only Way, by creating ſome Diſorder among them, to overcome ſuch firm and well diſciplined Troops. On the Twenty-firſt he advanced to *Sonzino*, whence he detached *Mercurio* with all the Light Horſe, and a Squadron of Men at Arms, to infeſt them, and to give Time to the Army to come up with them, being apprehenſive, becauſe they were that ſame Day encamped at *Cavriana*, that he ſhould arrive too late, laying the Blame of his Slowneſs and Delay in ſetting out from *Vauri* on the Negligence and Avarice of the Proveditor *Piſani*, which had neceſſitated him to ſtop a Day or two the longer in expectation of Oxen for drawing the Artillery;

A. D. 1526.

A. D. 1526. the Want of which, he ſaid, was afterwards the Cauſe of very great Diſorders, and in a manner the Ruin of the whole Enterpriſe. It had hitherto been doubtful which Way the *Germans* intended to direct their Courſe; for it was at firſt believed that they would take their March through the *Breſcian* and *Bergameſe* towards the *Adda*, with a Deſign to give an Opportunity to the Imperial Troops to meet and join them, and then to proceed in Company with them to *Milan*. Afterwards it was apprehended that their Intention was to paſs the *Po* at *Caſalmaggiore*, and from thence to take the Road to *Milan*. But being, on the Twenty-ſecond Day, advanced to *Rivalta*, Eight Miles diſtant from *Mantua*, between the *Mincio* and the *Oglio*, the ſame Day the Duke encamped at *Prato Albuino*, and not having paſſed the *Mincio* at *Goito*, it was taken for a Sign that they were reſolved to paſs the *Po* at *Borgoforte* or *Viadana*, rather than at *Oſtia*, or in Places lower down the River; and if they paſſed *Oſtia* they would probably take the Road to *Modena* and *Bologna*, in both which Places Levies were making of Foot, beſides other

other Proviſions. The *Germans*, on the Twenty-fourth, took their March to *Borgoforte*, where, having brought no Artillery with them, arrived Four Falconets, ſent them, by the *Po*, from the Duke of *Ferrara*; an Aſſiſtance ſmall in itſelf, but very great in its Conſequence by the Kindneſs of Fortune; for the Duke of *Urbino*, being on his March after them, and entered into the Seraglio* of *Mantoua*, which they had not yet quitted, *Giovanni de' Medici* with the Light Horſe came up with their Rear as they approached *Borgoforte*, tho' with little Hopes of Advantage, and approaching them the more boldly, becauſe he knew they had no Cannon, they fired from one of the Falconets, and at the Second Diſcharge the Ball ſtruck and broke the Leg of *Giovanni de' Medici* a little above the Knee, of which Wound, being carried to *Mantoua*, he died a few Days after, to the very great Detriment of the Undertaking, in which the Enemy had never dreaded any Arms but thoſe of *Giovanni*: For tho' he was but a young Man, of

A. D. 1526.

Death and Character of *Giovanni de' Medici*.

* A pleaſant Diſtrict of the *Mantouan* ſo called. See the larger Maps of *Lombardy*.

A. D. 1526. Twenty-nine Years of Age, and of a very fierce Courage, his Experience and Abilities were ſuperior to his Years, and the Fervor of Youth every Day becoming more moderate, and many expreſs Indications of Induſtry and Counſel appearing in him, it was expected for certain that he would ſoon attain the Character of a moſt famous and accompliſhed General in the military Art. The *Germans* after this continued their March, without any farther Moleſtation, by the Way of *Oſtia*, along the *Po*, the Duke of *Urbino* being at *Borgoforte*. On the Twenty-eighth they paſſed the *Po* at *Oſtia*, and encamped at *Rovere*, where they were aſſiſted with a Sum of Money by the Duke of *Ferraro*, and ſome more Field Pieces, *Bologna* and all *Tuſcany* being in a terrible Conſternation. For the Duke of *Urbino*, tho' he had conſtantly declared before that if they paſſed the *Po* he would alſo paſs that River, was marched to *Mantoua*, ſaying that he would wait there for Orders from the *Venetian* Senate whether he were to paſs the *Po* or not. But the *Germans*, after paſſing the River *Secchia*, took the Road of *Lombardy*,

bardy, in order to join the Forces that were in *Milan*. A. D. 1526.

At this time the Viceroy, putting off from *Corſica* with Five and Twenty Sail, for Two of his Ships were caſt away in a Storm before he arrived at *San Firenze*, and Five others were ſeparated from the reſt and diſperſed, met off *Seſtri di Levante* the Fleet of the League, conſiſting of Six Gallies of the King of *France*, Five of the Pope, and Five of the *Venetians*. The Two Fleets engaged off *Codemonte* for Two Hours while it was Light, and *Doria* wrote that they had ſunk a Ship of theirs with above Three Hundred Men, and had greatly endamaged their whole Fleet with their Cannon, and that the Gallies had been forced by the rough Weather to retire under the Mount of *Portofino*; that they expected the ſame Night ſome other Gallies which lay at *Porto Venere*, but, whether they came or not, they would at Break of Day go in Search of the Enemy. But tho' they purſued their Fleet as far as *Livorno* they could not come up with it becauſe it was ſeveral Miles a-head of them, for

Cæſar's Fleet engaged with that of the Confederates.

A. D. 1526. for as they had imagined it would make for *Corſica* or *Sardinia*, they had not prepared to give Chace to it. The Viceroy afterwards purſued his Voyage, but met with bad Weather, which diſperſed his Fleet, Part of which, with Don *Ferrando Gonzaga*, bore away for *Sicily*, from whence it afterwards paſſed over to *Gaeta*, and landed ſome *German* Foot, and the Viceroy, with the reſt of the Armada, arrived at the Port of *Santo Stefano*, from whence, having no certain Accounts of the preſent Circumſtances of Affairs, he diſpatched to the Pontiff at *Rome* the Commendatary *Pignaloſa* with Inſtructions expreſſive of the good Diſpoſitions of *Cæſar*, and he himſelf, as ſoon as the Sea permitted, ſailed away and arrived with the Fleet at *Gaeta*.

Motions of the Germans. In the mean time the *German* Foot having paſſed the *Secchia*, and purſued their March toward *Razzuolo* and *Gonzaga*, encamped the Third of *December* at *Guaſtalla*, the Fourth at *Caſtelnuovo* and *Povi*, Ten Miles from *Parma*, where they were joined by the Prince of *Orange*, who was come

come from *Mantoua* with Two Companies in the Habit of a ſimple Harquebuſier. A. D. 1526. On the Fifth they paſſed the River *Lenza* at the Bridge on the main Road, and encamped at *Montechiarucoli*, the Duke of *Urbino*, without any Concern for the preſent Danger, ſtill paſſing his Time at *Mantoua* with his Wife. On the Seventh the *Germans* paſſed the River *Parma*, and encamped at the Hill of *Felina*; the Weather was rainy, and the Rivers ſwelled. By intercepted Letters of General *George* to the Duke of *Bourbon*, he ſeemed very irreſolute on what was to be done. On the Eleventh Day they paſſed the *Taro*, and the next Day encamped at *Borgo a San Donnino*, where they gave a Specimen of the *Lutheran* Venom againſt Sacred Things, and the Images of the Saints. From *Firenzuola*, where they encamped on the Thirteenth, as it appeared by intercepted Letters, they ſollicited the Forces in *Milan* to come and join them. Theſe Troops were very willing to comply with their Deſire, but were retained by the Want of Money; for the *Spaniards* threatened that they would not march out of *Milan*, if

they

A. D. 1526. they were not paid their Arrears, and began already to plunder. But at laſt they were with Difficulty perſuaded by the Generals to agree on receiving their Pay by five Payments, for which it was neceſſary to ſtrip the Churches of their Plate, and to impriſon many of the Citizens. As faſt as the Soldiers were paid off they were ſent away to *Pavia*, though with very great Difficulty, for they were very loth to leave *Milan*: And theſe Things requiring Time, ſome *Italian* Horſe and Foot were in the mean while detached to join the *Germans* on the other Side the *Po*.

Duke of *Urbino* fruſtrates the Counſel of the Lieutenant.

THE Lieutenant had made Inſtances that, for the Security of the State of the Church on that Side, the Duke of *Urbino* ſhould paſs the *Po* with the *Venetian* Troops. But the Duke had not only delayed, ſometimes ſaying that he waited for Advice of the Will of the *Venetians*, ſometimes alledging other Reaſons, but repreſented to the Senate that it was to be feared, if he ſhould paſs the *Po*, that the Imperialiſts would fall upon their Dominions;

minions; on which they ordered him not to paſs: And, what is more to be regarded on the ſame Account, he had ſeveral Days detained the Foot which had been commanded by *Giovanni de' Medici* when ſollicited by the Lieutenant to paſs the *Po* for the Defence of the Poſſeſſions of the Church. Moreover the Marquis of *Saluzzo* having, on the Sollicitations of the Lieutenant for Succours, paſſed the *Adda*, to which he was alſo induced becauſe, the *Swiſs* and *Griſon* Infantry being diminiſhed, he thought himſelf too weak in his Camp at *Vauri*, the *Venetians*, who had before conſented that the Marquis ſhould paſs the *Po* to the Relief of the Pontiff with Ten Thouſand Foot between *Swiſs* and his own Troops, which were paid by them with the Forty Thouſand Ducats of the King of *France* (the Care of the Receipts and Diſburſements of which, after the Pontiff had made the Truce, being intruſted with them, there was a Suſpicion, which was afterwards much increaſed, that they had converted ſome Part of it to the Payment of their own Troops) moved afterwards by the Perſuaſions A. D. 1526.

A. D. 1526. ſuaſions of the Duke of *Urbino*, intreated him not to paſs; and therefore the Duke having, for that Purpoſe, appointed a Conference with him at *Sonzino*, ſo long delayed his Coming that the Marquis went away: However, he not only uſed all his Endeavours to cauſe him to ſtop, that he might the better inform himſelf of the Motions of the *Germans*, but alſo openly adviſed him not to paſs the River. Another Cauſe that retarded the Marquis was, that Money was not in Readineſs for the Payments of the *Swiſs*, who were Six Thouſand in Number according to the Liſts, but ſcarce above Four Thouſand eſtective Men. But though, for theſe Reaſons, he deferred his Paſſage till the Twenty-ſeventh of *December*, he ſent however Part of the *French* Cavalry, with ſome Foot, to poſt themſelves in different Parts of the Country, for diſturbing the Conveyance of Victuals to the *Germans*, who had reſted many Days at *Firenzuola*. For the ſame Purpoſe was *Guido Vaina* ſent with an Hundred Light Horſe to *Borgo a San Donnino*, and *Paolo Luzzaſco* with a good Body of Horſe had marched out

out of *Piacenza*, and approached *Firenzuola*, from whence Part of the *Germans*, for the more conveniently ſupplying themſelves with Proviſions, were gone to encamp at the Caſtle of *Arqua*. A. D. 1526.

THE Apprehenſions from theſe Troops had before given Occaſion for providing *Piacenza*, but not with ſuch a Force as ſeemed requiſite, becauſe the Lieutenant, who had always, after the Coming of the *Germans*, been apprehenſive that the Difficulty of making a Progreſs in *Lombardy* would force the Imperialiſts to paſs into *Tuſcany*, was deſirous that they would venture to lay Siege to *Piacenza*. For this Reaſon, which was unknown to any, even to the Pope himſelf, he delayed to provide *Piacenza* ſo far as to give Hopes to the Enemy that it might be taken, making ſuch Proviſions, however, as would render its Acquiſition difficult, and hoping that, if it ſhould be beſieged, he ſhould find Means to relieve it. But the long Stay of the *Germans* in the neighbouring Places, every one crying out as in Pain for the Danger of that City, forced him

Lieutenant's ſecret Reſolution.

A. D 1526. him at laſt to conſent that Count *Guido Rangone* ſhould repair thither with a good Body of Troops, whither alſo, by an Order of the *Venetians*, who had promiſed, for relieving the Pope's Neceſſities, to reinforce the Garriſon with a Thouſand Foot, was detached *Babbone di Naldo*, one of their general Officers, with the ſaid Number, but by the bad Payments they were ſoon diminiſhed to Four Hundred.

Motions of the Confederate and *German* Forces.

THE Marquis of *Saluzzo* at laſt paſſed the *Po*, but with no more than Four Thouſand between *Swiſs* and *Griſons*, and Three Thouſand Foot of his own, and being advanced to *Puleſine*, though he was deſired to keep that Poſt as commodious for infeſting the Camp at *Firenzuola*, whither *Luzzaſco* made frequent Excurſions, yet he retired for his greater Security to *Torricella* and *Siſſa*. But two Days after the *Germans* decamped from *Firenzuola*, and removed to *Carpineta* and the circumjacent Places. The Deſign of the Duke of *Bourbon* was not yet known, whether to beſiege *Piacenza* directly on his

his March out of *Milan*, or to proceed forwards towards *Tuſcany*. On the laſt Day of the Year the *Germans* croſſed the *Nura* in order to paſs the *Trebbia*, and there wait for *Bourbon*, it being a Quarter leſs infeſted by the Enemy. A. D. 1526.

IN this cold Situation of the Affairs of *Lombardy*, proceeding not ſo much from the very ſevere Seaſon of the Year, as from the Difficulty under which *Bourbon* laboured of paying the Troops, hence the *Milaneſe* were wonderfully vexed and tormented for Proviſion of Money. On account of this Neceſſity *Gieronimo Morone*, who was condemned to Death, the Night before the Morning appointed for his Execution compounded for Twenty Thouſand Ducats, for which Purpoſe a Deſign had been pretended to cut off his Head. On Payment of this Money being ſet at Liberty, by the Vivacity of his Parts, from a Priſoner of the Duke of *Bourbon* he ſoon became his Counſellor, and in the Space of a few Days in a manner his abſolute Governor. *Morone releaſed by the Duke of Bourbon.*

A. D. 1526. THERE was much Treating between the Pontiff and the Viceroy of a Truce, or a Peace; but the truer and more ſubſtantial Deſign of the Viceroy was to make War, to which he was animated, ſince his Arrival at *Gaeta*, by the Encouragements of the *Colonnas*, and by underſtanding that the Pontiff, quite exhauſted of Spirits and Money, was ardently deſirous of an Agreement, publiſhing to every one his Poverty and his Fear, and yet could not be perſuaded to make a Creation of Cardinals for raiſing of Money, as all adviſed him, which increaſed the Boldneſs and Hopes of thoſe who deſigned to attack him. For the Pontiff, who had not entered into the War with a ſuitable Conſtancy of Mind, had written, as far back as the Twenty-ſixth of *June*, to *Cæſar* a Brief in ſharp Terms, and full of Complaints, in which he excuſes himſelf as neceſſitated by him to take up Arms. But imagining, after he had diſpatched it, that he had been too ſharp, he immediately wrote another in milder Terms, ordering *Baldaſſarre da Caſtiglione*, his Nuncio, to keep the firſt, which was arrived before, and had been preſented.

Pope's Inconſtancy.

preſented. The other Letter was afterwards delivered, and *Cæſar* anſwered ſeparately, tho' in one and the ſame Diſpatch, each of theſe Letters according to its Contents; the ſharp Letter had a ſharp Anſwer, and the meek one as meek a Return. A. D. 1526.

He had hearkened to the General of the *Franciſcans*, who, on his Departure from *Rome* for *Spain* when the War broke out, had been charged by the Pope with a kind Meſſage to *Cæſar*, and being juſt returned to *Rome* with a Commiſſion from *Cæſar*, had made an ample Report of his good Diſpoſition, and that he would be content to come into *Italy* with Five Thouſand Men, and, after taking the Crown of the Empire, would immediately paſs into *Germany* to give Orders concerning the Affair of *Luther*, without mentioning a Council; that he was willing to agree with the *Venetians* on honourable Conditions; to refer to Two Arbitrators, appointed by the Pope and himſelf, the Cauſe of *Franceſco Sforza*, and, if *Sforza* ſhould be condemned, to give the State of *Milan* to the Duke of *Bourbon*; to remove his Army out of *Italy*, Overtures of Peace from *Cæſar*.

A. D. 1526. the Pope and the *Venetians* paying him three hundred thouſand Crowns for ſatisfying their Arrears, which however they might treat on reducing to a more moderate Sum; to reſtore the King his Children, on receiving of him, at two or more Terms, Two Millions of Gold. He ſhewed that it was eaſy to accommodate Matters with the King of *England*, becauſe there was no great Sum in Diſpute between them, and the King of *France* had offered to pay it. For entering into a Treaty on theſe Overtures, all which the Pontiff communicated to the *French* and *Venetian* Ambaſſadors, he offered a general Truce for Eight or Ten Months, ſaying that he had full Powers from *Cæſar* for himſelf, and for the Viceroy, or Don *Ugo*.

How received by the Allies. ON account of theſe Propoſals the Pontiff, after giving an Audience to *Pignaloſa*, underſtanding that the Viceroy was ſailed from the Port of *Santo Stefano*, ſent the General to *Gaeta* to treat with him. For neither would the *Venetians* have refuſed the Truce, if made with the Concurrence of the King of *France*, who had not ſhown himſelf

himſelf averſe to it; and beſides his Mother had ſent to *Rome Lorenzo Toſcano*, ſhewing an Inclination to an Agreement in which all ſhould be comprehended. And as he imagined that no Negotiation could well aſſure itſelf of Succeſs without the Conſent of *Bourbon*, he ſent to him, for the ſame Purpoſes, one of his own Almoners, who was at *Rome*, whom the Duke ſoon after ſent back to the Pontiff, to aſſiſt in the Treaty; not deſiſting however from carrying on at the ſame Time his warlike Operations, he deputed Cardinal *Agoſtino Trivulzio* his Legate to the Army in the *Campagna*, and made Preparations alſo to attack the Kingdom of *Naples* by Sea. A. D. 1526.

On the Third of *December* arrived at *Civita Vecchia Pietro Navarra*, with Twenty-eight Gallies of the Pontiff, *French*, and *Venetians*; and about the ſame Time put into *Savona*, with a Fleet of Ships of War*, *Renzo da Ceri*, ſent by the King of *France* to aſſiſt in the Expedition deſigned againſt the Kingdom of *Naples*. On the other ſide *Aſcanio Colonna*, with Two Thouſand Foot, and Three

* *Armata delle Vele quadre.*

A. D. 1526. Hundred Horſe, came to *Valbuona*, Fifteen Miles from *Tiboli*, where are ſeated the Towns of the Abbot of *Farfa*, and of *Gianjordano*: With theſe Forces on the Twelfth of *December* he took *Cepperano*, which had no Garriſon; *Vitello*, on the other hand, with the Troops of the Pontiff, drew together between *Tiboli*, *Paleſtrina*, and *Velletri*. After this the *Colonnas* took *Pontecorvo*, where was no Garriſon, and gave a fruitleſs Aſſault to *Scarpa*, a Caſtle belonging to the Abbey of *Farfa*, a ſmall and weak Place. Then *Cæſar Filettino*, with Fifteen Hundred Foot, in the Night, approached *Alagnia*, into which Five Hundred of his Men being ſecretly introduced, by ſome Men of the Town, through a Houſe contiguous to the Wall, were repulſed and driven out by *Gian Lione da Fano*, who commanded the Troops of the Pontiff in that Place.

Actions of the *Colonnas*.

Viceroy's haughty Demands. The General of the *Franciſcans* now returned from the Viceroy, and reported that he would conſent to a Truce for ſome Months, that a Peace might in the mean time be negotiated; but that he demanded Money,

Money, and the Fortreſſes of *Oſtio* and *Civita vecchia* for Security. But, in contradiction to his Account, the Archbiſhop of *Capoua*, who arrived at *Gaeta* after his Departure, and perhaps was ſent thither by the evil Counſel of the Pontiff, wrote that the Viceroy would have no Truce but with the Pontiff alone, or with the Pontiff and *Venetians*, on paying him Money for maintaining the Army to ſecure the Peace, and then he would treat about a Truce with the reſt; either becauſe he had really changed his Mind, or, as many doubted, through the Perſuaſions of the Archbiſhop. A. D. 1526.

About this Time alſo *Paolo d'Arezzo* being arrived at *Cæſar*'s Court with Credentials from the Pontiff, the *Venetians*, and *Franceſco Sforza*, whither alſo the King of *England*, for the ſame Purpoſe of Peace, would have the Auditor of the Chamber repair, becauſe the King of *France* had alſo an Agent there before, found him altered in his Reſolutions on Advice of the Arrival of the *Germans*, and of the Fleet in *Italy*. Revoking therefore the Conditions before propoſed, he demanded that *Cæſar* propoſes harder Conditions.

A. D. 1526. the King of *France* ſhould obſerve in all Points the Convention of *Madrid*, and that the Cauſe of *Franceſco Sforza* ſhould be examined in a judicial Way by Judges appointed by himſelf. Thus did the Intentions of *Cæſar* receive Alterations from the Succeſſes of Affairs, and the Inſtructions given by him to his Miniſters in *Italy*, on account of the Diſtance of Place, included either an expreſs or a tacit Condition of being managed according to the Variety of Times and Occaſions. The Viceroy, therefore, after ſeveral Days deluding the Pontiff with empty Negotiations, and not chuſing to conſent to a Suſpenſion of Arms for a few Days till the Iſſue of the Debate was known, ſet out the Twentieth on his March from *Naples* towards the State of the Church, propoſing new and extravagant Conditions of Agreement.

On the laſt Day of the Year followed the Capitulation of the Duke of *Ferrara*, concluded by an Ambaſſador of his with the Viceroy, and with *Ugo*, who had a Commiſſion from *Cæſar*, tho' little to the Satisfaction

Satisfaction of that Ambaſſador, who was in a manner conſtrained by the Viceroy with Menaces and ſharp Words to conſent: That the Duke of *Ferrara* ſhould be obliged to ſerve with his Perſon and his State againſt every Enemy of *Cæſar*: That he ſhould be *Cæſar*'s Captain General in *Italy*, and have the Command of One Hundred Men at Arms, and Two Hundred Light Horſe, but with an Obligation to furniſh them out with his own Money, which was to be repaid, or allowed in his Accounts: That for the Dowry of the Natural Daughter of *Cæſar* promiſed to his Son he ſhould receive at preſent the Town of *Carpi*, and the Fortreſs of *Novi*, formerly belonging to *Alberto Pio*; but that the Revenues, till the Conſummation of the Matrimony, ſhould be compenſated by his Stipends, and that *Veſpaſiano Colonna*, and the Marquis *del Guaſto*, ſhould renounce the Right which they claimed to theſe Places: That as ſoon as he ſhould recover *Modena* he ſhould pay Two Hundred Thouſand Ducats, but computing in the Number thoſe which he had paid the Viceroy after the Battle of *Pavia*; but if he

A. D. 1526.

Articles of Capitulation between *Cæſar* and the Duke of *Ferrara*

A. D. 1526. he ſhould not recover *Modena*, the Money which he had before diſburſed was to be repaid him: That *Cæſar* ſhould be obliged to his Protection, and ſhould not be at Liberty to make Peace without comprehending him in it, by procuring from the Pontiff Abſolution from the Cenſures and Penalties incurred ſince he had declared himſelf a Confederate of *Cæſar*; and ſhould uſe all his Endeavours to obtain it for thoſe incurred before. Thus ended the Year 1526 with Preparations on all hands for an open and vigorous War.

The End of the SEVENTEENTH BOOK.

Franceſco Guicciardini's

HISTORY

OF

The WARS in ITALY.

BOOK XVIII.

THE CONTENTS.

Duke of Bourbon *leaves* Milan, *and, diverted from the Siege of* Piacenza, *marches towards* Tuſcany. *Viceroy and* Colonnas *at War with the Pope, who invades the Kingdom of* Naples. Bourbon *leads his Army to* Rome, *is killed in aſſaulting it, but his Forces enter, ſack it, and make the Pope and many Cardinals Priſoners. This occaſions a Revolution in* Florence. *Pope capitulates. King of* England *declares againſt* Cæſar. Lautrech, *General of the Confederates, takes and ſacks*

ſacks Pavia, *and after many Succeſſes leads his victorious Army before* Naples.

A. D. 1527. THE Year 1527 will appear full of moſt atrocious, and for ſeveral Ages unheard of Events; as, Changes of States, Captivity of Princes, Sackings of Cities in a moſt ſhocking Manner, a great Scarcity of Proviſions, and a raging Peſtilence ſpreading itſelf in a manner over all *Italy*, where nothing was to be ſeen but Death, Flight and Rapine.

The Beginning of theſe Calamities was retarded by nothing but the Difficulty which the Duke of *Bourbon* found in cauſing the *Spaniſh* Foot to leave their Quarters, and march out of *Milan*. For it had been concerted that *Antonio da Leva* ſhoul remain for the Defence of the Dutchy of *Milan*, with all the *German* Foot that were there before, in whoſe Maintenance was expended all the Money collected from the *Milaneſe*, beſides the Sums received on the Bills which the Duke of *Bourbon* had brought from *Spain*, and

and with 1200 *Spaniſh* Foot, and a certain Number of *Italian* Foot under *Lodovico da Belgiojoſo* and other Chiefs, who having no Pay of *Cæſar*, but ſupporting themſelves by Cuſtoms and Contributions, and making free with the Houſes and Women of the *Milaneſe*, were pleaſed with ſitting ſtill after ſo licentious a Manner. But as theſe Troops could not directly refuſe, they demanded to be firſt ſatisfied for their Arrears to that Inſtant of Time. At laſt however they promiſed to follow the Orders of the Duke, on receiving from him five Pays; but it was very difficult to provide them, neither Menaces, nor Seizure of Goods, nor Impriſonment being ſufficient to draw Money from the *Milaneſe*, whither, for Subſiſtence of the Army, the Abſent were alſo ſummoned, and the Goods of thoſe who did not appear given to the Soldiers. *A. D.* 1527. Duke of *Bourbon* marches out of *Milan*.

At laſt, all Difficulties ſurmounted, the Imperial Troops, on the laſt Day but one of *January*, paſſed the River *Po*; and the next Day, Part of the *Germans*, who had Motions of the Armies.

A. D. 1527. had before paſſed the *Trebbia*, repaſſed it, and went to poſt themſelves at *Ponte nuovo*. The reſt of the Army halted beyond *Piacenza*, under the Obſervation of the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, who was at *Parma*, with all his Troops extended through the Country: And the Duke of *Urbino*, being advanced to *Caſal maggiore*, the *Venetians* having referred the Paſſage of the *Po* to his Diſcretion, began to paſs over his Troops, declaring that, if the Imperialiſts, according to his Advices from *Milan*, took their Way towards *Tuſcany*, he would paſs in Perſon with 600 Men at Arms, 9000 Foot, and 500 Light Horſe, and be at *Bologna* before them; as would alſo the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, with his own Forces, and thoſe of the Church.

The Imperial Army ſtayed about twenty Days, ſometimes on this Side ſometimes beyond *Piacenza*, detained partly by the Difficulty of Money, the *Germans* having as yet received none of the Duke of *Bourbon*, and partly becauſe the Duke had an Inclination to lay Siege to *Piacenza*, perhaps more for the Difficulty

culty of proceeding forwards than for any other Reaſon. Wherefore he ſollicited the Duke of *Ferrara* to furniſh him with Powder for the Artillery, and to put himſelf on his March to join him, offering to ſend 500 Men at Arms, and General *George* with 6000 Foot to meet him. To this Demand the Duke anſwered that it was impoſſible to ſend him Powder through the Enemy's Country, and that he could not attempt to join him without Danger, becauſe all the Forces of the League were in the Neighbourhood: But, ſuppoſing all this to be eaſy, *Bourbon* ought to conſider that he could not do the Enemies a greater Service, and which they more deſired, than to loſe Time in buſying himſelf about thoſe Towns one after another; and to know that if he ſhould not take *Piacenza*, or ſhould perhaps take it, but after a long Time, what would become of his Reputation, or by what Ways and Means the War could be proſecuted, under ſo great a Want of Money and of all other Proviſions: That the only Way to Victory, and to do Service to *Cæſar*, was to advance towards the Head, and, laying

A. D. 1527.

Duke of *Ferrara* counſels *Bourbon*.

A. D. 1527. laying aſide all other Enterpriſes, to march at once to *Bologna*, where he might reſolve either on making an Attempt to force that Town, for which his Aſſiſtance ſhould not be wanting, or on purſuing his March towards *Florence* or *Rome*.

Proceedings of the War in the Eccleſiaſtical State.

DURING theſe Debates, and while *Bourbon* was providing Money not only to pay off the Remainder of what was due to the *Spaniards*, but alſo to give ſomething to the *Germans*, among whom, at their Departure from *Piacenza*, he diſtributed two Crowns for each Man, the War went on briſkly in the State of the Church, *Renzo da Ceri* being newly arrived from *France* in the Eccleſiaſtical Camp, which was near to the Camp of the Viceroy, who was in the Neighbourhood of *Cepperano*, where ſome Foot of the *Italians* routed 300 *Spaniards*. But there was a Variety of Opinions on the Method to be taken for the Defence of the Eccleſiaſtical State; *Vitello* had, before the Coming of *Renzo*, adviſed the Pontiff to abandon the Province of *Campagna*, and to put 2000 Foot into *Tiboli*,

as

as many into *Paleſtrina*, and to poſt the reſt of the Army at *Velletri*, to prevent the Viceroy from marching to *Rome*. A Reſolution being taken according to this Advice, *Renzo*, on his Arrival, condemned the Diſpoſal of the Troops within *Velletri*, becauſe it was a large Town, and not eaſy to be fortified, and becauſe it left the Enemy at liberty to proceed too far. But his Advice was to poſt the Army at *Ferentino*, where not being ſo many Places to guard, it would be ſtronger and more compact, and it was a Place convenient for ſtopping the Enemy from advancing any further. This Counſel was approved, and a Garriſon was placed in *Fruſolone*, the Reſidence of the Lieutenant of *Campagna*, ſix Miles from *Ferentino*, of 1800 Foot of thoſe of the late *Giovanni de'Medici*, moſt of which went by the Name of the *Black Bands*, with *Aleſſandro Vitello*, *Giovambattiſta Savello*, and *Pietro da Birago*, Officers of Light Horſe. A. D. 1527.

BUT while this paſſed, the *Colonnas* had ſecretly induced *Napolione Orſino*, Abbot of *Farfa*, to take up Arms in the Territory about Abbot of *Farfa* committed to Priſon.

A. D. 1527. about *Rome*, as in the Pay of *Cæſar*. The Pontiff, of whom he had before received Money, having private Information of it, diſſembled the Affair, till having artfully drawn him to go and meet *Vaudemont*, Brother to the Duke of *Lorraine*, who was coming from *France*, being ſent by that King to favour the Enterpriſe on the Kingdom of *Naples*, he cauſed him to be apprehended at *Bracciano*, and ſent Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Sant' Angelo*.

King of *England* propoſes a Ceſſation of Arms.

THE Pontiff was intent on providing Money, and on his ſupplicating the Princes he obtained of the King of *England* a freſh Supply of 30,000 Ducats, which were brought him by Maſter *Ruſſel*, of his Bedchamber, accompanied by Monſ. *Rabandanges*, with 10,000 Crowns ſent him by the King of *France* on account of the Tenths, which the Pope, preſſed by Neceſſity, had granted him, with a Promiſe that, beſides the monthly Payments of the 40,000 Crowns to the League, and 20,000 to the Pope, he would give him 30,000 Ducats at preſent, and as much more within a Month. Maſter *Ruſſel* had

alſo

alſo Orders from the King of *England* to propoſe to the Viceroy and the Duke of *Bourbon* a Suſpenſion of Arms, to give Time for the Treaty of Peace, which, in Compliance with *Cæſar*'s Will, was held in *England*, and, in caſe of Refuſal, to denounce War. That King, deſirous of matching his Daughter to the King of *France*, ſeemed at that time inclined to favour the Confederates, and promiſed that, as ſoon as the Matrimony was concluded, he would enter into the League, and begin a War in *Flanders*. He appeared alſo mightily diſpoſed to do good Offices to the Pontiff in particular; but no ready Aſſiſtance could be expected from a Prince who made no juſt Eſtimate of his own Strength, and of the preſent Circumſtances of *Italy*, and alſo was not fixed in one determinate Will, being always withheld from coming to a Reſolution by the Hopes given him from *Cæſar* of putting into his Hands the Negotiations of Peace; tho' the Effects were by no means anſwerable. For when the Auditor of the Chamber addreſſed him on that Head, tho' *Cæſar* uſed many Arts to perſuade A. D. 1527.

A. D. 1527. him that this was his Intention, yet, as he expected to hear firſt what had happened in *Italy* in conſequence of the Arrival of the *Germans* and of the Fleet, he gave no certain Anſwer, making Exceptions to the Commiſſions of the Confederates, as if they were not ſufficient.

Pope's dubious and impolitic Conduct.

But the Pontiff, by his continual treating with the Viceroy about an Agreement, did himſelf a Prejudice with the Allies, who were every Hour apprehenſive that he would make an Accommodation with him; and the King of *France* and the *Venetians* imagined that whatever they ſhould expend for his Support would be in a manner uſeleſs. This Suſpicion was increaſed by the extreme Fear which was apparent in him, and the daily Proteſtations of his Inability to ſuſtain the War any longer, added to his Obſtinacy in not ſuffering himſelf to be perſuaded to create Cardinals for Money, and to aſſiſt himſelf in ſo great a Neceſſity, and in ſo great a Danger of the Church, by Methods which other Pontiffs had been accuſtomed to take even for carrying on

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ambitious and unjuſt Enterpriſes. Where- *A. D.*
fore the King and the *Venetians*, in order 1527.
to be prepared for all Events, had entered into a particular and freſh Obligation to make no Agreement with *Cæſar* one without the other; ſo that the King, for this Reaſon, and becauſe of the great Hopes given him by the King of *England* of making conjointly with him, if they agreed about the Affinity, great Movements next Spring, became more negligent of the Dangers of *Italy*.

At this time the Viceroy haſtened the Preparations for attacking the State of the Church, and detached 2000 *Spaniſh* Foot to give an Aſſault to a ſmall Caſtle of *Stephen Colonna*'s; but they were repulſed. He advanced however ſo briſkly forwards, that the Eccleſiaſtics laid aſide their Intention of beſieging *Rocca di Papa*, the Garriſon of which Place had taken *Caſtel Gandolfo*, belonging to the Cardinal *di Monte*, which had but a weak Garriſon. At laſt the Viceroy, having aſſembled a Body of 12,000 Foot, of whom, except the *Spaniards* and *Germans*, brought over

A. D. 1527. by the Fleet, the greater Part were of the Militia, on the 21ſt of *January* laid Siege to *Fruſolone*, a weak unwalled Town, (tho' the private Houſes and the Grotto ſerved inſtead of a Wall) in which the Commanders of the Church had placed a Garriſon, that they might leave him no Room for ſetting Foot in *Campagna*; and tho' the Place alſo was victualled but for a few Days, yet the Situation of the Town, which is built on a Hill, gave the Beſieged always an Opportunity of ſaving themſelves on one Side, as they had a ſmall open Space behind their Backs, which made the Troops the bolder in its Defence, beſides which they were ſome of the choiceſt of the *Italian* Infantry in Pay at that time. The Height of the Mountain alſo made it impracticable for the Enemy to approach their Artillery, of which they had planted three Pieces of Demicannon, and Four Demiculverins, ſo as to do conſiderable Damage to the Place; but their principal Care was to prevent, as far as they were able, the Entrance of Proviſions into the Town.

Vicéroy beſieges *Fruſolone*.

A. D. 1527.

ON the other ſide, the Pontiff, tho' very much exhauſted of Money, and more ready to bear the Indignity of begging Supplies of others, than the Indignity of providing himſelf by extraordinary Means, increaſed, as much as he could, his Forces, both with Troops in Pay, and with Militia; and had very lately taken into his Service *Oratio Baglione*, forgetting the Injuries he had done, firſt to his Father, and afterwards to *Oratio* himſelf, whom he had a long time kept Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Sant' Angelo*, as a Diſturber of the Peace of *Perugia*. With theſe Reinforcements the Army of the Pontiff was continually drawing together near *Ferentino*, to put the Beſieged in hopes of Relief. By the 24th a Breach was made in *Fruſolone*, but it not being ſufficient to give the Viceroy Hopes of Succeſs, the Aſſault was deferred, tho' in carrying on the Works towards the Walls *Alarcone* was wounded with a Harquebus-Shot; *Mario Orſino* alſo received a Wound. The Viceroy grounded his principal Hopes on knowing

Beſieged make a brave Reſiſtance.

A. D. 1527. that the Garriſon laboured under a Scarcity of Proviſions, as did alſo the Army that was aſſembling at *Ferentino*; for the *Colonnas* who were in *Palliano*, *Monteforti-no*, and *Rocca di Papa*, which were all the Places they held, ſcoured the Roads, and *Renzo* in his March to the Army had routed the Regiment of Foot of *Cuio*, that eſcorted the Proviſions. One Day however there marched out of *Fruſolone* Three Hundred Foot, and ſome Horſe, with *Aleſſandro Vitello*, *Giovambattiſta Savello*, and *Pietro da Birago*, who advancing within half a Mile of *Larnata*, in which were quarterd five Colours of *Spaniſh* Foot, drew two of them into an Ambuſh, and broke them, killing Captain *Peralta* and Eighty Men, and taking many Priſoners, with the two Colours. The Viceroy in the mean time was employed in working the Mines at *Fruſolone*, and the Garriſon in countermining them, being under ſo little Apprehenſion from the Enemy, that they refuſed a Reinforcement of Four Hundred Foot which the Generals of the Army would have thrown into the Place.

All

A. D. 1527.

ALL this while however the Negotiations for an Agreement were carried on with no leſs Warmth; for the General of the *Franciſcans*, and the Archbiſhop of *Capoua* were returned to *Rome*, accompanied with *Ceſare Fieramoſca*, a *Neapolitan*, whom *Cæſar* had, after the Departure of the Viceroy, diſpatched from *Spain* to the Pontiff, with Orders to declare eſpecially that he was very much concerned at the Entrance of Don *Ugo* and the *Colonnas* into *Rome*, and at the Conſequences of that Step; to give him Aſſurances that *Cæſar* was very deſirous to compound all Differences with him and to treat, in his Name, of Peace, which he ſeemed alſo inclined to make with the other Confederates, and ſaid, as the Nuncio wrote, that if the Pontiff put in Execution, according to his Word, his Purpoſe of going to *Barcelona*, he would give him free Power to pronounce Peace at his own Diſcretion. Theſe Deputies propoſed, on the Part of the Viceroy, a Truce for two or three Years with the Pontiff and *Venetians*, each Party keeping what it at preſent poſſeſſed,

the

A. D. 1527. the Pontiff paying One Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Ducats, and the *Venetians* Fifty Thouſand; which, tho' very hard upon he Pontiff, yet ſo ardent was his Deſire o free himſelf from the Burden and Vexations of the War, that, to induce the *Venetians* to conſent to the Truce, he offered to pay the Fifty Thouſand Ducats. To expect their Anſwer, he made a Truce, on the laſt Day of *January*, with the Viceroy for eight Days, on condition that the Troops of the Church ſhould not paſs beyond *Ferentino*, nor thoſe of the Viceroy beyond *Friſolone*, nor ſhould carry on any Works againſt the Town, the Garriſon likewiſe being prohibited to work on the Fortifications, or to introduce any Proviſions into the Place, but only from Day to Day.

A Truce of eight Days.

Fieramosca now imagining that he had ſufficiently diſcovered the Intentions of the Pontiff, and might make known thoſe of the Emperor without Offence to his Dignity, preſented him a long Letter, written with *Cæſar*'s own Hand, full of a good Diſpoſition, Offers, and Devotion towards

wards the Pontiff. After this he departed, A. D. 1527. to give Notice to the Viceroy and the Legate of the Suſpenſion agreed, and to take Care that it ſhould be put in Execution, and arrived the ſame Day in the Army, which had moved from *Ferentino*, and was marching towards *Fruſolone*. He there notified the Truce to the Legate, who, loth to interrupt the great Hopes which his Men had conceived of Victory, gave him fair Words, and ſent ſecret Orders to the Troops to continue their March. The Army could not arrive at *Fruſolone* before they made themſelves Maſters of a Paſs, which is in nature of a Bridge, ſituate at the Foot of the firſt Hill of *Fruſolone*, and guarded by four Colours of *German* Foot. But the Vanguard arriving under the Command of *Stefano Colonna*, and coming to an Engagement, broke them, and put them to Flight, killing about Two Hundred, and taking Four Hundred with the Colours. Having thus gained the firſt Hill, the reſt of the Enemy retired to a ſtronger Poſt, leaving the Entrance into *Fruſolone* free to the Eccleſiaſtics, who, Night approaching, took

A. D. 1527. took up their Quarters over againſt them; *Renzo* and *Vitello*, with whoſe Conduct in this Affair the Pontiff was not well pleaſed, being in great Hopes of giving them a Defeat, whether they ſtayed or retired, which, as it was believed, would infallibly have been the Conſequence, had the Troops of the Church encamped on the Hill they had taken, or had been careful and vigilant to perceive the Retreat of the Enemy. For the Viceroy, not the next Day, but the Day after that, two Hours before Light, broke up, and marched off, without giving any Sign of his Decampment, ſetting Fire to ſome Powder which he had remaining, and leaving behind him a great Quantity of Cannon Balls: And tho', as ſoon as his Departure was perceived, the Eccleſiaſtics diſpatched their Light Horſe in purſuit, which took ſome Baggage, and a few Priſoners of ſmall Account, yet they came too late to do any conſiderable Damage; the Enemy however left behind them ſome Part of their Proviſions, and retired to *Ceſano*, and from thence to *Cepperano*.

Siege of *Frioſolone* raiſed.

THE

A. D. 1527.

THE Pope, reſuming Courage from the Retreat of the Enemy, and ſtimulated by the Ambaſſadors, who would not otherwiſe be ſatisfied, reſolved to undertake the Enterpriſe againſt the Kingdom of *Naples*. For *Rabandanges*, who had brought Ten Thouſand Ducats on account of the Tenths, and Ten Thouſand on account of *Renzo*, had Orders not to diſtribute them without the Conſent of *Alberto Pio*; *Renzo*, and Monſ. *de Lange*, which they were not to give unleſs they could aſſure themſelves that the Pontiff would make no Agreement. And the *Venetians*, to whom Maſter *Ruſſel* was gone to induce them to accept the Peace propoſed by the Viceroy, and approved by the Pope, but, breaking his Leg on the Road, had ſent forward the Diſpatch, anſwered that they would make no Truce without the Conſent of the King of *France*; and they were the more encouraged in this Reſolution by knowing that *Genoa* was reduced to very great Extremities for Want of Proviſions. The Pontiff therefore reſolved to attack the Kingdom of *Naples* with an Army by Land,

Pope reſolves to attack *Naples*.

A. D. 1527. Land, while the Fleet with *Vaudemont*, who had raiſed Two Thouſand Foot, ſhould act againſt it by Sea. But *Renzo*, at whoſe Diſcretion the Money of the King of *France* was expended, reſolved, contrary to the Will of the Pontiff, who was of Opinion that the whole Force ſhould be employed in the ſame Place, to cauſe Six Thouſand Men to enter the *Abruzzi*, in hopes that by means of the Sons of the Count *di Montorio*, who were ſent thither with Two Thouſand Men, he might eaſily get Poſſeſſion of *Aquila*; and the Attempt ſoon ſucceeded, for *Aſcanio Colonna*, on the firſt Advice of their Approach, abandoned the City with Precipitation. The Beginnings of this Enterpriſe were very hopeful and flattering; for tho' the Viceroy put Garriſons in the neighbouring Places, and did his utmoſt to remedy the Diſorder, yet Part of his Army being diſbanded, and others of neceſſity diſtributed into the Towns for their Preſervation, it was believed that he would remain engaged in reſiſting the Land Army, and that *Renzo* in the *Abruzzi*, and the Fleet of the Church and *Venetians*, which

Aquila taken by the Eccleſiaſtics.

which conſiſted of Two and Twenty Gallies, would find no Oppoſition, eſpecially ſince they carried an additional Supply of Three Thouſand Foot, and had on board *Oratio* with Two Thouſand Foot, and the Perſon of *Vaudemont*, who, by the antient Right of King *René*, pretended to the Succeſſion of that Kingdom, and to whom the Pontiff had given the Title of his Lieutenant. A. D. 1527.

But the Affair proceeded with the greater Slowneſs becauſe the Eccleſiaſtic Army had not as yet, on the twelfth Day of *January*, decamped from *Fruſolone*, expecting the heavy Artillery from *Rome*, and to hear of the Entrance of *Renzo* into the *Abruzzi*, and the Arrival of the Fleet. What cauſed ſome Hindrance alſo, and Loſs of Time, was a Mutiny of the Troops in *Fruſolone*, who demanded the Pay due to them for the Victory. However on the eighteenth the Troops of the Viceroy abandoned *Ceſano*, and other circumjacent Villages, and retired to *Cepperano*. On their Retreat the Eccleſiaſtic Army, which began to ſuffer for want of Proviſions, paſſed

A. D. 1527. paſſed *San Germano*, and the Viceroy, in Pain for the Event of Affairs, retired to *Gaeta*, and Don *Ugo* to *Naples*. The Pontiff, however, labouring under a great Want of Money, and Apprehenſions of the Coming forwards of the Duke of *Bourbon*, to whoſe Army he did not ſee the Confederates in a Readineſs to make Reſiſtance, and continuing in the ſame Inclination to an Agreement with *Cæſar*, had procured that Maſter *Ruſſel* ſhould go to the Viceroy with a Commiſſion from his King, which gave Occaſion to the Return of *Ceſare Fieramoſca* to *Rome*, on the 21ſt of *February*, where he opened his Inſtructions, and departed the next Day, leaving the Pontiff in great Confuſion and Irreſolution of Mind. But to prevent his precipitating himſelf into an Agreement the *Venetians*, in the Beginning of *March*, offered to pay him, within Fifteen Days, Fifteen Thouſand Ducats, and the like Sum in Fifteen Days more, having obtained of him the Jubilee for their Dominions.

Pope embarraſſed.

But

A. D. 1527.

BUT the Fleet of the Pope and *Venetians*, which, to the great Detriment of the Undertaking, had remained unactive in Expectation of the *French* Squadron, and, on the 23d of *February*, had been forced by contrary Winds to the Isle of *Ponzo*, since advanced forwards, and plundered the Mole of *Gaeta*, and afterwards, on the Fourth of *March*, landed some Foot at *Pozzuolo*, but finding the Place well provided put off again to Sea. After this, proceeding forwards, they made a Descent by the River of *Castello a Mare di Stabbia* near *Naples*, where *Diomede Caraffa* had posted himself with Five Hundred Foot, and on the Third of *March*, attacking the Place by the Way of the Mountain, they carried the Town by Storm, and plundered it, and the next Day the Castle surrendered. On the Tenth they stormed and took *Torre del Greco*, after which *Surrente*, and many other Towns on that Coast surrendered on Articles. The Fleet had before taken some Ships laden with Corn, by which *Naples*, where but slender Provision was made of that Commodity, suffered sufficiently,

Successes of the Confederate Fleet.

A. D. 1527. ficiently, meeting with no Oppoſition by Sea; and, on the Second Day of *Lent*, they approached ſo near the Mole that the Caſtle and Gallies fired upon them, and before this the Troops by Land had advanced ſo forwards that the People of *Naples* were forced to retire through the Gate of the Market, and to ſhut it. After this the Fleet took *Salerno*, and *Vaudemont* being gone with it after certain Ships, leaving *Oratio* with Four Gallies at *Salerno*, the Prince of *Salerno* with a great Multitude of Troops entered the Town by way of the Caſtle, but was routed by *Oratio*, above Two Hundred of his Men killed, and a good Number taken Priſoners. In the *Abruzzi* the old Count *di Montorio*, being delivered out of Priſon by the Viceroy, that he might recover *Aquila*, was made a Priſoner by his Sons; and *Renzo* on the 6th of *March*, after taking *Siciliano* and *Tagliacozzo*, marched towards *Sora*. And yet, in ſo fair an Opportunity, the Land Army, either through the Negligence of the Miniſters, or the bad Proviſion made by the Pontiff, was reduced to ſuch

ſuch a Scarcity of Victuals, that on the 5th of *March* they began to diſband. A. D 1527.

But the Negotiations of Peace being continually kept on Foot, in ſpite of theſe Hoſtilities, *Fieramoſca*, and *Serenon*, Secretary to the Viceroy, on the Tenth Day of *March*, came to *Rome*, where the Day before was arrived M. *de Lange*, with Plenty of fair Speeches and Promiſes, but without Money, tho' it had been ſignified from *France*, that he had ſet out with Twenty Thouſand Ducats for putting Troops on board a Fleet of large Ships which was expected from *Civita Vecchia*, and with Twenty Thouſand more to be brought to the Pontiff, whom *Lange* encouraged to undertake this Enterpriſe againſt the Kingdom of *Naples*, for one of the Sons of the King of *France*, who was to take in Marriage *Caterina* Daughter of *Lorenzo de' Medici*, and Niece to the Pontiff. For the King confiding in the Negotiation with *England*, and perſuading himſelf that the Viceroy, by the Loſs and Diſorder received at *Fruſolone*, was in no Condition to bring any Thing to Effect, and

A. D. 1527. that the Imperial Army, after ſo long delaying to move, and being alſo without Money, gave no Grounds for further Apprehenſions of their March into *Tuſcany*, would hear no more of a Truce, tho' it ſhould comprehend all Parties, and excuſe him from paying Money, that he might not give Time to *Cæſar* to re-eſtabliſh his Affairs. And yet, finding himſelf without Money, he had ſent no more than Ten Thouſand Ducats of the Twenty Thouſand he had promiſed the Pontiff for every Month, and of the Money ariſing from the Tenths; nor had he as yet, on the Seventh of *March*, remitted the Money for the Troops to be put on board the Fleet of large Ships, the Charges of which were to be defrayed in common by him and the *Venetians*; and, ſince he was not inclined to make any Motion till he had ſettled Matters with the King of *England*, he thought it but reaſonable that the Pontiff ſhould wait till that Time.

King of *France* refuſes a Truce.

Enterpriſe on *Naples* ſlackened. THE Enterpriſe therefore againſt the Kingdom of *Naples*, which had ſo hopeful a Beginning, was every Day proſecuted with

with leſs Vigour. For the Fleet not being reinforced with new Ships nor Men, and being obliged to garriſon the conquered Places, could make but little Progreſs; and the Army by Land, which had not, on the 14th of *March*, received the Proviſions ſent from *Rome* by Sea, by reaſon of the bad Weather, being not only diſabled from advancing forwards, but diminiſhed and diſtreſſed for want of Food, retired at laſt to *Piperno*; and the Troops under *Renzo* were leſſened in their Numbers for want of Pay, ſo as that General finding it impracticable to incloſe the Viceroy between the two Armies, as the Deſign had been laid, returned to *Rome*. Theſe Diſorders were increaſed by the cloſe Application of the Pontiff to the Treaty for an Agreement, by which he weakened the Hands of the Confederates, remiſs enough of themſelves, and cauſed a Slackneſs in their Preparations, which on the other hand augmented his Deſire of an Accommodation. And he entertained good Hopes of the pacific Diſpoſition of *Cæſar* from an intercepted Letter of his, in which he charged the Viceroy to ſolli- A. D. 1527.

A. D. 1527. cit an Agreement with the Pontiff, unleſs the Situation of Affairs required him to take other Meaſures.

BUT what moſt quickened the Pontiff to an Accommodation aroſe from his perceiving that *Bourbon* with the Imperial Army continually advanced forwards, and that neither the Reſolutions of the Duke of *Urbino*, nor the Preparations of the *Venetians* were of ſuch Conſideration as to render him ſecure of the Affairs of *Tuſcany*, the Concern about which afflicted him beyond meaſure. For the Duke of *Urbino*, while the Imperialiſts continued in their Quarters partly on this Side, partly beyond *Piacenza*, changing his firſt Reſolution of being at *Bologna* with the *Venetian* Army before them, had determined in his Counſels that, as ſoon as it was known that the Enemy had moved, the Eccleſiaſtic Army, leaving good Garriſons in *Parma* and *Modena*, ſhould march for *Bologna*, and that he himſelf with the Forces of the *Venetians* ſhould march at the Back of the Enemy, but always at the Diſtance of Twenty or Thirty Miles, for Security of the Troops,

Duke of *Urbino*'s Counſels on reſtraining *Bourbon*.

in

in which Order, if the Enemy ſhould afterwards take the Road of *Romagna* or of *Tuſcany*, he would continually proceed, while the Eccleſiaſtic Army with the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, attended by the *French* Lances and his own Foot, and the *Swiſs*, always marched before them, ſtill leaving Garriſons in the Towns by which the Enemy would be obliged to paſs after them, and drawing them out, Place after Place, in Order as the Enemies paſſed. For this Counſel of his, which the other Generals did not well comprehend, he alledged ſeveral Reaſons: As, firſt, that it was not adviſable to oppoſe with the united Armies in the open Field the Paſſage of the Imperialiſts, becauſe it was either dangerous or uſeleſs; dangerous, becauſe, if they ſhould come to a Battle, the Enemy being ſuperior in Strength and Valour, if not in Number, would obtain the Victory; uſeleſs, becauſe if the Imperialiſts ſhould avoid a Battle, it would be in their Power to leave the Army of the Confederates behind them, and, being ever afterwards advanced before them, would, wherever they came, make very great Progreſſes: That this Re- A. D. 1527.

A. D. 1527. ſolution appeared to him the beſt that could be taken, ſuppoſing Things were in his Power; but that he was conſtrained by Neceſſity to take no other, becauſe the hoſtile Army being already, as it was believed, upon putting themſelves in Motion, his Troops were not ſo readily provided as that he could be certain of having Time enough to get before them; and, beſides, it was his Duty to conſider, ſince the *Venetians* had freely referred the Determination of this Point to his own Diſcretion, how to avoid endangering their State, which if the Enemy ſhould perceive to be unprovided, they might from new Opportunities take new Counſels, and, paſſing the *Po* carry the Seat of War into their Territories, to their infinite Loſs and Damage.

By theſe Reaſons he convinced the *Venetian* Senate, by Nature inclined to proceed with Caution and Secreſy in their own Affairs, but by no means ſatisfied the Pontiff, who conſidered that by this Counſel a Way was opened for the Imperial Army to proceed as far as *Rome*, or into *Tuſcany*, or wherever it pleaſed. For the Army which was to go before it, being inferior in Force, and continually diminiſhing by the

Cenſured.

the Garriſons which it was obliged to place in the Towns, could be in no Condition to make Reſiſtance; nor was it certain that the *Venetians*, once left behind, would be ſo ready to follow the Enemy in Fact, as the Speeches of the Duke implied, eſpecially to thoſe who conſidered the Manner of their Proceeding during the whole Courſe of the War, and judged that all the Forces united together, which would make an Army much greater than that of the Imperialiſts, might with more Eaſe prevent them from paſſing forwards, intercept their Proviſions, and make uſe of all Opportunities that might offer; nor would they ever have Occaſion to be ſo far diſtant from the Enemy, as not to have Time enough to come with their Aſſiſtance if they turned their Arms againſt the *Venetian* Dominions, A. D. 1527.

THE Pontiff was much more diſpleaſed with the Reſolution, when he underſtood that the Duke of *Urbino*, who on the Third Day of *January* was come to *Parma*, had, on the Attack of a ſlight Diſorder, retired on the Fourteenth to *Caſal maggiore*,

A. D. 1527. *maggiore*, and from thence, Five Days after, under Pretence of taking Care of himſelf, to *Gazzuolo*, where being relieved from his Fever, but laid up, as he ſaid, with the Gout, he had ſent for his Wife. Thoſe who were willing to put the beſt Conſtruction on this Conduct, which was greatly miſtruſted by the Pontiff, have endeavoured to prove that the Negotiations of Agreement were the Cauſe of the Duke's proceeding with this Suſpenſion: But the Lieutenant comprehending, partly from what appeared probable, partly from Relation of Words ſpoken by him, that he was alſo induced to take theſe wrong Meaſures from a Deſire to recover *Montefeltro*, and *San Leo*, which were in the Hands of the *Florentines*, and judging that if he were not ſatisfied on this Head the Pontiff and *Florentines* might be abandoned by him in their greateſt Neceſſity, it appearing alſo to him that theſe Towns were not worth the expoſing of themſelves to ſo great a Danger, and as he knew beſides that the ſame was deſired at *Florence*, gave him Aſſurances of the Reſtitution, as if he had received Orders from the

Cauſe of the Duke's Remiſſneſs.

Pontiff

Pontiff ſo to do, tho' this Step was not approved by the Pontiff, who, in this Caſe, indulged his old and new Hatred more than Reaſon. A. D. 1527.

IN the mean time the Imperialiſts, having diſtributed a very ſmall Sum of Money among the *Germans*, kept themſelves encamped near *Piacenza*, in which was Count *Guido Rangone* with Six Thouſand Foot. From this City *Paolo Luzzaſco*, and ſome other Light Horſe of the Church, ſometimes made Excurſions, and one Day being accompanied by a certain Number of Foot, and ſome Men at Arms, routed a Party of the Enemy on an Excurſion, and took Eighty Horſe and One Hundred Foot, among them the Captains *Scalengo*, *Zucchero*, and *Grugno Borgognone*. *Bourbon* after this ſent ten Companies of *Spaniards* to put Proviſions into *Pizzichitone*; and a little after Count *Gajazzo*, with ſome Light Horſe and his own Foot, came to take up his Quarters in *Borgo San Donnino*, which was abandoned by the Eccleſiaſtics; and the next Day, in conſequence of a Treaty held with him

A. D. 1527. him before, and alſo under a Pretence that he was diſengaged from the Imperialiſts for becauſe he was not paid, he paſſed over to the Eccleſiaſtic Camp, and was taken into Pay by the Lieutenant, rather to ſatisfy others, than following his own Judgment, with Twelve Hundred Foot, and One Hundred and Thirty Light Horſe, whom he had brought with him, on Condition that, if *Cæſar* deprived him of his County of *Gajazzo*, the Pontiff ſhould, after eight Months, pay him an equivalent yearly Revenue till he had recovered it.

Count *Gajazzo* deſerts to the Confederates.

Bourbon, purſuant to the Counſel of the Duke of *Ferrara*, who yet refuſed to march in the Army, was rather deſirous to march for *Bologna* and *Florence*, than to make any Stop at thoſe Towns; but on the Seventeenth the *Spaniſh* Foot mutinied, demanded Money, and killed the Serjeant Major whom *Bourbon* had ſent to appeaſe them. However he quieted the Tumult as well as he could, and on the Twentieth paſſed the *Trebbia* with the whole Army, and encamped three Miles from *Piacenza*, having with him Five Hundred

Hundred Men at Arms, a good Number of Light Horſe, for the moſt Part *Italians*, but never paid, the *German* Foot newly arrived, Four or Five Thouſand *Spaniſh* Foot, choice Troops, and about Two Thouſand *Italian* Foot, lately diſbanded, and not in Pay. As for the Remains of the old *Germans*, Part of them continued in *Milan*, and the reſt were marched towards *Savona*, to favour the Enterpriſe on *Genoa*, which was reduced to great Straits. Wonderful indeed was the Reſolution of *Bourbon*, and of that Army, which finding itſelf without Money, without Stores, without Pioneers, without Orders for Convoys of Proviſions, ventured to put themſelves on paſſing forwards between ſo many hoſtile Towns, and againſt an Enemy much more numerous than themſelves. And much more to be admired ſtill was the Conſtancy of the *Germans*, who having marched out of their Country with only a ſingle Ducat each Man, and ſuffered ſo long in *Italy* a hard Subſiſtence under a ſcanty Pay, having received, during all that Time, no more than two or three Ducats a Head, chearfully betook themſelves, contrary

A. D. 1527.

A. D. 1527. contrary to the Cuſtom of all Soldiers, and eſpecially of their Nation, to march forwards, having no other Recompence or Expectation than the Hopes of Victory, tho' it was manifeſtly known to all that their Stores of Proviſion were very ſhort, and that, being in the Neighbourhood of Enemies, they could not live without Money. But what ſupported their Hopes, and lengthened out their Patience was the great Authority of their General *George*, who had gained their entire Confidence, and propoſed *Rome* and the greateſt Part of *Italy* for their Prey.

THE Imperialiſts on the 22d advanced to *Borgo San Donnino*, and the next Day the Marquis of *Saluzzo* with the Eccleſiaſtic Troops, to the Number of between Eleven and Twelve Thouſand Men, leaving ſome *Venetian* Foot in Garriſon at *Parma*, ſet out from that City on his March for *Bologna*, after he had left Orders for Count *Guido* to remove from *Piacenza* to *Modena*, and the Infantry of the Black Bands to *Bologna*, leaving a ſufficient Garriſon in *Piacenza*. Thus the Marquis,

Marquis, taking his Way through the *Reggian*, in four Encampments, arrived between *Anzuola* and *Ponte a Reno*, at which time *Bourbon* was about *Reggio*. And the Duke of *Urbino*, who had rejected as uſeleſs the Propoſal which the Lieutenant made to him at *Caſal maggiore*, for augmenting the Number of the *Swiſs*, was now inſtant with him to propoſe at *Rome* and *Venice* a new Levy of Four Thouſand *Swiſs*, and Two Thouſand *Germans*, excuſing his Oppoſition at that Time, becauſe the Seaſon would not permit taking the Field, and he had imagined that the Enemies, whom he promiſed with this Augmentation to approach, would firſt break up and diſperſe: A Counſel deſpiſed by every Body, becauſe ſuch ſlow Remedies could afford no manner of Relief in the preſent Dangers, and he might alſo aſſure himſelf that his Propoſal was impoſſible to be put in Execution, through the Difficulty of Money, and the diſunited Counſels of the Confederates.

A. D. 1527.

Marquis of *Saluzzo* ſecures *Bologna*.

A. D. 1527.

Duke of *Milan* in Action.

AT this time the Duke of *Milan*, who had aſſembled Three Thouſand Foot, and ſecured *Lodi* and *Cremona*, with all the Country beyond the *Adda*, and made Incurſions into the *Milaneſe*, ſurpriſed the Town of *Moncia*; but his Men ſoon abandoned it, on Advice that *Antonio da Leva*, who had accompanied *Bourbon*, was returning to *Milan*, and had taken that Way, bringing with him, as it was ſaid, Two Thouſand *German* veteran Foot, Fifteen Hundred newly levied, with One Thouſand *Spaniſh* and Five Thouſand *Italian* Foot, under ſeveral different Commanders.

Motions of *Bourbon*.

BUT *Bourbon*, after paſſing the *Secchia*, took the Road on the Left, and on the Fifth of *March* arrived at *Buonporto*, where he left the Army, and went to *Finale*, to confer with the Duke of *Ferrara*, who perſuaded him by all means to lay aſide all other Projects, and to march directly for *Florence* or *Rome*; nay, it is believed that he adviſed him to let alone every other Enterpriſe, and to take his March towards

towards *Rome*. In this Reſolution the Duke of *Bourbon* had many Difficulties that tormented his Mind, and eſpecially the Fear that the Army, after it was conducted into the Territory of *Rome*, would, either out of Neceſſity, or a Deſire of Refreſhment, or from ſome Difficulties that it might encounter, which it would be ſure to meet with if the Pontiff ſhould not be diſarmed, take up its Quarters in the Kingdom of *Naples*. A. D. 1527.

On the ſame Day the Troops of the *Venetians* paſſed the *Po*, without the Perſon of the Duke of *Urbino*, who, tho' recovered, remained ſtill at *Gazzuolo*, but with an Intention to ſet out very ſoon. *Venetians* paſs the *Po*.

On the Seventh *Bourbon* encamped at *San Giovanni*, in the *Bologneſe*, whence he ſent a Trumpet to *Bologna*, whither the Eccleſiaſtic Troops had retired, to demand Proviſions, ſaying that his Intention was to march to the Relief of the Kingdom of *Naples*: And the ſame Day he was joined by the *Spaniards* who were in *Carpi*, which Town was put into the Poſſeſſion Situation of the Armies.

A. D. 1527. of the Duke of *Ferrara*. The Forces of the *Venetians* were on the Banks of the *Secchia*, reſolved to paſs no further till they had Advice of the Departure of *Bourbon* from *San Giovanni*, where he received his Proviſions from the *Ferrareſe*; but when they came to be paid for, the Troops, having little or no Money, were obliged to enlarge their Quarters for procuring Subſiſtence, and ſcoured all the Country, preying upon Men and Beaſts, which was the Method they took to pay for their Proviſions. Hence it moſt undeniably appears that, if they had met with a powerful Oppoſition, or if the Eccleſiaſtic Army, which was in and about *Bologna*, had been able to encamp in their Neighbourhood, the Imperialiſts would have been reduced to great Straits; for, by continuing to quarter thus at large they would have been expoſed to great Danger, and, by contracting their Quarters, they muſt have been deſtitute of the Means for providing Food.

BUT among the Troops which were in *Bologna* were many Diſorders, both from the

the Qualifications of the Marquis, who was fitter to break a Lance than to discharge the Office of a General, and because the *Swiſs* and his own Foot were not paid by the *Venetians* at due Times; which were the Cauſes of their loſing a very fair Opportunity. A. D. 1527. Character of the Marquis of *Saluzzo*.

In the mean time *Bourbon*, to enable himſelf to proceed forwards, was intent on furniſhing himſelf from *Ferrara* with Proviſions for ſeveral Days, with warlike Stores, and with Pioneers and Oxen, having brought with him thus far four Pieces of Cannon; and, tho' he gave various Signs of his Intentions, it was believed for certain that his Deſign was to paſs into *Tuſcany* by the Way of *Saſſo*; and the ſame was confirmed by *Geronimo Morone*, who had for many Days held a private Correſpondence with the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, tho', in the Opinion of many, diſſembling and fraudulent. But the fourteenth of *March* being appointed for the Troops to leave their Quarters, on which Occaſion the four Cannon were ſent back to *Bondino*, on the Day before the *German*

A. D. 1527. Foot, deluded with various Promiſes of Payment, and followed afterwards by the *Spaniſh* Foot, cryiug out Money! mutinied with a very great Tumult, in which *Bourbon* was in no ſmall Danger of his Life, if he had not taken Care privately to fly out of his Quarters, which the Mutineers plundered, and killed one of his Gentlemen. On this Occaſion the Marquis *del Guaſto* immediately repaired to *Ferrara*, whence he returned with a Sum of Money, whieh, tho' but ſmall, ſerved to quiet the Army. On the Seventeenth fell a vaſt Quantity of Snow and Rain, ſo that it was impoſſible, from the Swelling of the Rivers, and the Badneſs of the Roads, for the Army to proceed for ſome Days: And Genéral *George* was ſeized with an Apoplectic Fit, which reduced him to the Point of Death; whence it was expected, tho' with greater Hopes than was anſwered by future Succeſs, that, this Commander being rendered at leaſt unfit for following the Camp, the *German* Foot would, by his Departure, be diſheartened, and incapable any longer to ſupport the Inconveniencies, and the Want of Money.

A Mutiny in *Bourbon*'s Army.

Appeaſed.

At

A. D. 1527.

AT this Time the *Venetian* Forces were at *San Fauſtino*, near *Rubiera*, where, on the Eighteenth Day of *March*, arrived the Duke of *Urbino*, promiſing, according to his Cuſtom, the *Venetian* Senate a certain Victory, not however by the Valour of the Confederate Arms, but from the Difficulties of the Enemy.

Duke of *Urbino* arrives in the Allied Army.

THE Pontiff, in this threatening Situation of his Affairs on every Quarter, was dejected for want of Money, diſpirited by the Miſcarriage of the Enterpriſe, according to his firſt Deſigns, on the Kingdom of *Naples*, his Troops, for want of Proviſions, being retired to *Piperno*, and diſheartened becauſe the Preparations of the *French*, moſt ample in Words, became every Day more ſcanty in Effects, as they had ever been from firſt to laſt during the whole Courſe of the War. For, beſides the Slowneſs of the King in ſending the Forty Thouſand Ducats the firſt Month of the War, in diſpatching the Five Hundred Lances, and fitting out the Fleet; beſides

Pontiff ill uſed by the King of *France*.

A. D. 1527. his declining to open a War, as he was obliged, on the other ſide the Mountains, which was deſigned as one of the principal Means for obtaining the Victory, he alſo failed of fulfilling his daily Promiſes. He had promiſed to pay the Pontiff, beſides the ordinary Contributions, Forty Thouſand Ducats each Month, for opening the War in the Kingdom of *Naples*; and a Truce afterwards happening, occaſioned by the Inſult from Don *Ugo* and the *Colonnas*, he had perſuaded him not to obſerve it, and confirmed anew the ſame Promiſe, that he might ſerve himſelf of the Money either for the War of *Naples*, or for his own Defence; and had further engaged his Word to ſend unto him *Renzo da Ceri*, who was in great Reputation with the King on account of the Defence of *Marſeilles*. All theſe Things, tho' promiſed in *October*, were ſo long delayed by their Slowneſs, that *Renzo* did not arrive at *Rome* till the Fourteenth of *January*, and then without Money; and ten Days after arrived Twenty Thouſand Ducats, of which *Renzo* kept Four Thouſand for his Penſion and private Expences, and Ten

Ten Thouſand for the Enterpriſe on the *Abruzzi*, ſo that only Six Thouſand Ducats came to the Hands of the Pontiff; who relying on theſe Promiſes had about three Months before broken the Truce. The King promiſed to pay him, for the Grant of the Tenths, within eight Days, Twenty-five Thouſand Crowns, and Thirty-five Thouſand more within two Months; but of theſe the Pontiff received no more than the Nine Thouſand of the Money brought by *Rabandanges*. *Paolo d' Arezzo* took his Leave of the King of *France* on the Twelfth of *February*, having, for the better Encouragement of the War, received from the King a Promiſe of Twenty Thouſand Ducats, beſides the forementioned Sums, which, being ſent after M. *de Lange*, never paſſed beyond *Savona*. The King was obliged by the Articles of the Confederacy to ſend Twelve Light Gallies; he ſaid he had ſent Sixteen, but they lay for the moſt part of the Time ſo ill provided, and ſo deſtitute of Men fit to put aſhore, that they never ſtirred from *Savona*; whereas if in the Beginning, when the War was opened againſt the Kingdom

A. D. 1527.

A. D. 1527. of *Naples*; they had immediately joined the Pontiff and *Venetians*, they would, according to the common Opinion, have made a conſiderable Progreſs. The Fleet of large Ships, certainly very powerful, tho' often promiſed to be ſent towards the Kingdom of *Naples*, yet, whatever might be the Cauſe, never went beyond the Coaſt of *Provence*, or *Savona*; and, after the King had concurred in giving two Pays to the Foot of the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, he agreed with the *Venetians*, who kept on Foot a leſſer Number of Troops than their Engagements required, that their Payment ſhould be made out of the Contribution of the Forty Thouſand Ducats. The Engagements and Aſſiſtance of the King of *England*, were at too great a Diſtance, and too uncertain. He ſaw that the *Venetians* were ſlow in the Payment of the Troops, on which account *Saluzzo*'s Foot, and the *Swiſs*, who were quartered in *Bologna*, were in a manner of no Service. He was terrified at the Variations and Manner of Proceeding of the Duke of *Urbino*, by which he was ſenſible that the Imperialiſts would find no

Obſtacle

Obſtacle to obſtruct their Paſſage into *Tuſcany*, where, from the evil Diſpoſition of the *Florentine* People, and the Adherents of the *Cæſareans* in the City of *Siena*, he had Reaſon to apprehend the State of *Florence*, and alſo that of the Church to be in very great Danger. *A. D.* 1527.

FOR theſe Reaſons the Pontiff, after much Debate with himſelf, and Fluctuation of Mind, tho' he knew how pernicious and dangerous it was to ſeparate himſelf from his Allies, and to put himſelf in the Power of the Enemy, yet not receiving ſufficient Aſſiſtance from others, nor willing to ſeek Aſſiſtance from himſelf as much as he might have done, but his preſent Fears prevailing over him, and wanting Spirits to make Reſiſtance againſt Difficulties and Dangers, reſolved to come to an Agreement with *Fieramoſca* and *Serenon*, who were in *Rome*, with a Commiſſion from the Viceroy for that Purpoſe, on a Suſpenſion of Arms for eight Months, on Condition of paying to the Imperial Army Sixty Thouſand Ducats; that whatever had been taken from the Church and the

Pope agrees to a Truce on Conditions.

A. D. 1527. the Kingdom of *Naples*, and from the *Colonnas*, ſhould be reſtored; and that *Pompeo Colonna* ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in the Dignity of the Cardinalſhip, with Abſolution from Cenſures, which was the hardeſt Condition of all to the Pontiff, and to which he condeſcended with the greateſt Difficulty. The King of *France* and the *Venetians* were at Liberty, within a certain Time, to enter into this Agreement, in which Caſe the *German* Foot were to depart out of *Italy*, and if they did not accede, then the *Germans* were to evacuate the State of the Church, and alſo that of *Florence*; that the Pontiff ſhould pay Forty Thouſand Ducats on the Twenty-ſecond Inſtant, and the reſt before the Expiration of the Month; and that the Viceroy ſhould come to *Rome*. This laſt appeared to the Pope as it were the only Means to ſecure himſelf of the Obſervance of *Bourbon*, of which he was alſo put in Hopes by a Letter of *Bourbon* to the Viceroy, which had been intercepted by the Lieutenant, in which he informed him of the Difficulties in which he found himſelf involved, and adviſed him to come

come to an Agreement with the Pontiff, if it might be conſiſtent with the Honour of *Cæſar*. In conſequence of this Agreement all the Troops were immediately recalled on both Sides, as well as the Fleets, and the Towns were reſtored, the Pontiff on his Part proceeding *bona fide* in the Obſervance of the Treaty, though he had at that Time a great Superiority in the Kingdom of *Naples*. But in *Aquila* the Sons of the Count of *Montorio*, not knowing how to ſecure themſelves otherwiſe, ſet at Liberty their Father, who immediately, with the Favour of the Imperial Party, drove away his Sons and thoſe of the oppoſite Faction.

A. D. 1527.

THE Viceroy afterwards arrived at *Rome*, by whoſe Coming the Pontiff, imagining himſelf wholly ſecured of the Obſervance of the Convention, very impoliticly diſbanded all the Troops that were in his Pay in the different Quarters of *Rome*, except an Hundred Light Horſe, and Two Thouſand Foot of the Black Bands, being the more encouraged to make this Step by perſuading himſelf that the

A fatal Step of the Pontiff.

A. D. 1527. the Duke of *Bourbon* was inclined to an Agreement by the Difficulties he found in proſecuting the War, becauſe he had always pretended to him that he deſired it.

Bourbon and the Army reject the Truce.

But Affairs about *Bologna* took a very different Courſe; for the Pontiff, as ſoon as the Truce was ratified, having diſpatched *Ceſare Fieramoſca* to *Bourbon*, that he might give his Approbation of the Agreement, and, on the Receipt of the Money, remove the Army out of the Territory of the Church, met with infinite Difficulties in *Bourbon*, and eſpecially in the Soldiers, who appeared obſtinately bent to continue the War, either becauſe they fed themſelves with Hopes of vaſt Gains, or becauſe the Money promiſed by the Pontiff was not ſufficient to diſcharge two Pays; and therefore many believed that, if the Sum had been augmented to an Hundred Thouſand Ducats, the Truce would have been readily accepted. Whatever might be the Cauſe, it is certain that the Soldiers did not deſiſt from ravaging the *Bologneſe*, and ſhewing all the Marks of Enemies, as much after the Coming of *Fieramoſca* as they

they did before: And yet *Bourbon*, who was at work on levelling the Roads, and *Fieramoſca* gave Hopes to the Lieutenant that, in ſpite of all Difficulties, the Army would accept the Truce; *Bourbon* affirming that he was neceſſitated to make theſe Levellings, in order to amuſe the Soldiers with Hopes of proceeding forwards, till he had induced them to comply with his Deſire, which was to preſerve the Friendſhip of the Pontiff; though, at the ſame time, were coming to the Army Supplies of Meal, Pioneers, Waggons, Powder, and other Stores, by Order of the Duke of *Ferrara*, who afterwards boaſted that neither the Money that he gave them, nor all theſe Aſſiſtances exceeded the Value of Sixty Thouſand Ducats. And, on the other ſide, the Duke of *Urbino*, pretending to be apprehenſive that this Army, after accepting the Truce, would fall upon the Poleſine of *Rovigo*, withdrew the *Venetian* Troops from beyond the *Po* to *Caſal maggiore*. A. D. 1527.

THINGS ſtood thus in Suſpenſe Eight Days: At laſt *Bourbon*, either becauſe it had

A. D. 1527. had been always his Intention, or becauſe it was not in his Power to command the Army, wrote to the Lieutenant, that he was conſtrained by Neceſſity, ſince he could not reduce the Soldiers to a Compliance with his Will, to march forwards. Putting therefore his Deſign in Execution, he proceeded the next Day, which was the laſt of *March*, and encamped at *Ponte a Reno*, with ſo great Ardor of the Infantry, that a Perſon, ſent from the Viceroy to ſollicit *Bourbon* to accept the Truce, as he was entering the Camp, would have been killed by the *Spaniards* if he had not fled. But they ſhewed greater Marks of Reſentment againſt the Marquis *del Guaſto*, who having left the Army in order to retire into the Kingdom of *Naples*, induced either by Indiſpoſition of Body, or becauſe he would not contravene, as he wrote to the Lieutenant, the Will of *Cæſar*, as did the reſt, or by ſome other Reaſon, was by the Army proclaimed a Rebel.

Bourbon marches forwards.

Ardor of the Army.

FROM the Coming of the Duke of *Bourbon* to *Ponte a Reno* the Marquis of *Saluzzo* and the Lieutenant, aſſuring themſelves

Progreſs of *Bourbon*

ſelves that the Enemies were on their March towards *Romagna*, left Part of the *Italian* Infantry for the Security of *Bologna*, and ſet out the ſame Night with the reſt of the Army for *Forli*, not without Difficulty in conducting the *Swiſs*, for the Payment of whom the Lieutenant was under a Neceſſity of lending *Giovanni Vitturio* Ten Thouſand Ducats. They entered *Forli* the Third of *April*, leaving in *Imola* a Garriſon ſufficient for its Defence. On the Fifth *Bourbon* paſſed under the Walls of *Imola*, in order to encamp lower on the high Road. A. D. 1527.

BUT as ſoon as certain Advice came to *Rome* that *Bourbon* had not accepted the Truce, the Viceroy ſeeming vaſtly uneaſy, and perſuading himſelf that, according to his firſt Advices, the Refuſal proceeded from the Neceſſity of a greater Sum of Money, diſpatched one of his Gentlemen with a further Offer of Twenty Thouſand Ducats, which were to be paid out of the Revenues of *Naples*. But underſtanding afterwards that his Meſſenger had been in Danger, he ſet out on the

Third

A. D. 1527. Third of *April* from *Rome*, to confer with *Bourbon*, having promiſed the Pontiff that he would conſtrain him to accept the Truce, if by no other Means, yet by ſeparating from him the Men at Arms, and the greater Part of the *Spaniſh* Infantry. But arriving in Six Days at *Florence*, he ſtayed there to treat with ſome Perſons ſent by *Bourbon*, as in a more convenient Place, it being now certain that the Army could not be ſtopped without paying them a much greater Sum of Money, which muſt be procured from the *Florentines*, on whom the Pontiff had left the whole Charge of providing it.

Fallacious Promiſes of the Viceroy.

THESE Variations highly augmented the Difficulties and Dangers of the Pontiff, and had indeed increaſed them for many Days paſt. For in the Uncertainty of the Reſolutions of the Duke of *Bourbon*, and of the Reſult of the Coming of the Viceroy, he was under a Neceſſity of Aſſiſtance from the Allies, who grew cool and remiſs from his Actions, notwithſtanding the Sollicitations and Remonſtrances of his Lieutenant ſtimulating them

them to the contrary. For the Pontiff in all his Speeches, and other outward Marks of his Inclination, manifeſted the moſt eager Deſire of an Agreement, and the great Hopes he entertained that by the Help of the Vice-roy it would ſucceed; and the Lieutenant, on the other hand, comprehending, by many Signs, that the Hopes of the Pontiff were vain, and knowing that the ſlow and languid Proviſions of the Confederates expoſed the Affairs of *Florence* and of *Rome* to moſt manifeſt Danger, made the moſt earneſt Inſtances with the Marquis of *Saluzzo* and the *Venetians* to perſuade them that the Agreement would not take Effect, and to exhort them, if not for the Sake of others, yet, at leaſt, for their own Intereſt, not to abandon the Concerns of the Pontiff, and of *Tuſcany*; not diſſembling, in order to gain the greater Credit, that the Pope, not knowing the open Frauds of the Imperialiſts, ardently expected it; and repreſenting that though, by giving him Aſſiſtance, they ſhould obtain nothing more than only rendering the Conditions of an Agreement eaſy to him, it would redound to their very great Bene-

A. D. 1527.

Lieutenant ſolicits the Allies to aſſiſt the Pope.

A. D. 1527. fit; becauſe the Pope, if aſſiſted by them, would agree, for himſelf and the *Florentines*, on Conditions which would be of little Detriment to the League; but, if abandoned, would of Neceſſity be conſtrained to oblige himſelf to give the Imperialiſts a very large Sum of Money, and ſome conſiderable Monthly Contribution, to maintain thoſe Arms which would afterwards be employed in a War againſt themſelves; for which Reaſon they ought, if they would not do themſelves a Miſchief, whenever *Bourbon* ſhould put himſelf in Motion to attack *Tuſcany*, to move alſo with all their Forces to defend it.

THE Marquis of *Saluzzo* was much perplexed on coming to a Reſolution in this Affair, but the *Venetians* were in much greater Perplexity; for as the Puſillanimity of the Pontiff was manifeſt to all, they aſſured themſelves that, even after obtaining freſh Aſſiſtance from them, he would embrace an Agreement whenever he could obtain it, without any Regard to the Confederates; and therefore they thought themſelves ſollicited to take a Step quite new

new in Politics, by aſſiſting him to render easy his Convention with the common Enemy. They conſidered that to abandon him might be the Cauſe of greater Prejudice to the common Concerns, but they judged it would be expoſing their Troops to manifeſt Danger between the *Appennine* and the Enemy, and in a Country that was already become diſaffected to them, if the Pontiff ſhould, while they were in *Tuſcany*, confirm the Agreement, or make a new one. A Doubt alſo aroſe, which had ſome Weight with the Senate, that the Pontiff made Inſtances that their Troops might paſs into *Tuſcany*, in order to conſtrain them to accept of the Suſpenſion to avoid the Danger of loſing them. The Lieutenant had, with no great Difficulty, removed thoſe Perplexities from the Mind of the Marquis, though many of his Council, for fear of expoſing the Troops to Danger, adviſed him to the contrary; for, as he had been before ready to come to *Forli*, ſo he did not refuſe, if Neceſſity required, to paſs into *Tuſcany*. A. D. 1527.

A. D. 1527.

BUT the *Venetians*, to keep the Pope and *Florentines* in ſome Hopes, and, on the other hand, to be in Readineſs to take ſuch Meaſures as the Courſe of Affairs Day after Day required, ordered that the Duke of *Urbino* ſhould, on the Fourth of *April*, break up from *Caſal maggiore*, and ſend his Cavalry by the Way that lay along the *Po* on the other Side, and his Infantry by that River. The Duke, ſhewing ſome Apprehenſions from the March of the Imperialiſts into *Romagna*, ſent Two Thouſand Foot of the *Venetians* to cover his own State. It was however ſuſpected by many, and by the Pontiff in particular, that he had made a ſecret Promiſe to *Bourbon* to give him no Impediment in his Paſſage into *Tuſcany*.

Duke of *Urbino* ſuſpected.

IN the mean time the Duke of *Bourbon* ſearching all Parts for Proviſions, of which he ſtood in extreme Neceſſity, ſent a Part of the Army to *Cotignuola*, which Town, though it had a ſtrong Wall, after a little Battering, ſurrendered on Articles; for the Inhabitants of this, and of many other Places

Progreſs of the Imperial Army.

Places in *Romagna*, dreading the Rapines of Friendly Soldiers, had refuſed Garriſons. *Cotignuola* being taken, *Bourbon* ſent the Four Cannon to *Lugo*, and reſted Three or Four Days on the Banks of the *Lamone*, both to provide himſelf with Victuals, and becauſe of the Impediments of the Waters. From hence, on the Thirteenth of *April*, he paſſed the *Montone*, and encamped at *Villa Franca*, Five Miles from *Forli*. That Day the Marquis of *Saluzzo* took and diſarmed Five Hundred Foot, almoſt all *Spaniards*, who had left their Colours, and were gone marauding towards *Monte Poggiuoli*, as was the Caſe of almoſt the whole Army through extreme Want of Proviſions. On the Fourteenth *Bourbon* encamped on the Road towards *Meldola*, a Way that leads, by *Galeata* and *Valdibagno*, into *Tuſcany*, whither he was earneſtly ſollicited to paſs by the *Seneſe*, who offered him Plenty of Proviſions and Pioneers. The *Germans* in their March, burning all the Places in the Country through which they paſſed, attacked the Town of *Meldola*, which ſurrendered, and yet was burnt. A. D. 1527.

A. D. 1527.

THE ſame Day *Bourbon* received Advice that the Viceroy, with the Conſent of *Motte*, whom he had deputed to him for that Purpoſe, had the Day before ſigned an Agreement in *Florence*, importing: That without derogating in other Matters, but rather confirming anew the Convention at *Rome*, the Duke of *Bourbon* ſhould, within Five Days next enſuing, begin to retire with the Army; and, as ſoon as he was retired to his firſt Encampment, ſhould receive Sixty Thouſand Ducats ſome time in *May* next, Fifty Thouſand of which the Viceroy, by a Schedule, or Note, under his own Hand, obliged *Cæſar* to repay; but theſe laſt Sixty Thouſand were not to be paid till the Releaſe of *Filippo Strozzi*, and the Abſolution of *Jacopo Salviati* from the Penalty of Thirty Thouſand Ducats, as the Viceroy had promiſed the Pontiff, not in the Articles of the Truce, but ſimply by Word of Mouth.

New Agreement at *Florence*.

THIS News did not retard the Duke of *Bourbon* from marching forwards, nor yet

Ineffectual to ſtop *Bourbon*.

yet the Advice that the Viceroy was ſet, A. D. 1527.
out from *Florence* for the Army, in order to ſettle with him all Matters which ſhould be neceſſary. For the Viceroy was deſirous of an Accommodation, as for many other Reaſons, ſo alſo, as I have heard from Perſons of Credit, becauſe he was projecting that the Army ſhould immediately turn its Force againſt the *Venetians*. And though he had promiſed at *Rome* to remove from *Bourbon* the Cavalry, and the greateſt Part of the *Spaniſh* Infantry, yet, while he was treating in *Florence*, he refuſed to do it, ſaying, he would not be the Cauſe of the Ruin of *Cæſar*'s Army.

BOURBON, on the Sixteenth Day, advanced and encamped at *Santa Sofia*, a Town of the Valley of *Galeata*, ſubject to the *Florentines*, labouring, by Speed and Fraud, to prevent all Obſtacles in his Paſſage of the *Alps*, where, on account of the Want of Proviſions, any croſs Accident would have been enough to diſorder the Army. On the Seventeenth having received, at *San Pietro in Bagno*, Letters from the Viceroy, and from the Lieute- *Bourbon paſſes the Appennines*

A. D. 1527. nant, notifying the Viceroy's Coming, he anſwered to them both, that their Advices had found him in ſo inconvenient a Quarter, that it was impoſſible to expect him there, but that he would wait for them the next Day at *Santa Maria in Bagno* at the Foot of the *Alps*; ſhewing himſelf, eſpecially in his Letter to the Lieutenant, very deſirous of an Accommodation, and to make known to the Pontiff his good Diſpoſition, and his Devotion, though his Mind was otherwiſe diſpoſed. The Viceroy came the Day appointed, and the ſame Day the Lieutenant, ſuſpecting the March of *Bourbon*, that the Enemy might not enter *Tuſcany* before the Succours, perſuaded the Marquis of *Saluzzo* by many Reaſons to march forwards; and having effectually confuted *Giovanni Vitturio*, the *Venetian* Proveditor with the Marquis, and others, who, from Fear of expoſing the Troops to Danger, demanded that, before they paſſed into *Tuſcany*, Security ſhould be given of Two Hundred Thouſand Ducats, or of ſome Fortreſſes in Pledge, conducted him with all his Troops to *Berſighelle*; from whence he

Crafty Conduct of *Bourbon*

he wrote to the Pontiff, that he had found *A. D.* 1527. ſuch a Readineſs in the Diſpoſition of the Marquis, that he no longer doubted of making him paſs with his Troops into *Tuſcany*, and he aſſured himſelf that thoſe of the *Venetians* would do the ſame; but that the more the Affairs of *Florence* were ſecured by their Paſſage, the more thoſe of *Rome* would be endangered; for *Bourbon*, when no other Hope remained, would be neceſſitated to betake himſelf to that Enterpriſe, and finding himſelf nearer *Rome*, it would be difficult for the Succours that ſhould be ſent to equal his Speed, ſince he might paſs the *Appennine* in two Encampments.

AGAINST ſuch an Event the *Florentines* had before endeavoured to provide themſelves with the Aſſiſtance of the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Urbino*, to whom they had firſt given Hopes, and afterwards a Promiſe, that, if their Troops paſſed into *Tuſcany*, they would enter into the League, and oblige themſelves to pay a certain Number of Foot, and not to agree with *Cæſar*, though the Pontiff ſhould

A. D. 1527. should set them an Example: And to the Duke of *Urbino*, who, after passing the *Po* at *Ficheruolo*, had on the Thirteenth advanced to *Finale*, and afterwards to *Corticella*, they had deputed *Palla Rucellai* to treat with him on those Points, and offered to restore him the Fortresses of *San Leo* and *Majuolo*. Wherefore it was the less difficult to have the Assistance in Readiness, and the rather as Advice came that the Viceroy had not only not found, in the Place appointed, the Duke of *Bourbon*, who had made slight of him, and had on the same Day employed himself in passing the *Alps*, but had also been in great Danger of being killed by the Peasants, who had risen up in Arms on account of the Losses and Injuries received from the Army. For the Marquis, though the Duke of *Urbino*, drawing him to a Conference at *Castel San Piero*, endeavoured to interpose either Difficulties or Delays, was ready to pass the *Alps*; so that on the Twenty-second of *April* he encamped at *Borgo a San Lorenzo* in *Mugello*, and the Duke of *Urbino*, unable with any Show of Decency to remove far from

Viceroy eluded by him.

from him, and unwilling to take upon himſelf the Blame of all that might happen, ſeeing the Readineſs of the *French*, and knowing that the *Venetians* empowered him to act at Diſcretion, with Orders, however, if the *Florentines* did not enter into the Confederacy, as ſoon as he arrived in *Tuſcany* immediately to repaſs the Army, paſſed alſo himſelf, and on the Twenty-fifth Day of the Month encamped at *Barberino*. A. D. 1527.

Confederate Army paſſes into *Tuſcany*.

BOURBON, in the mean time, having the ſame Day paſſed the *Alps*, encamped at the Pieve of *San Stefano*, which Town bravely repulſed the Attacks of his Men, and from thence ſent one of his Gentlemen to the Pontiff, in order to amuſe him with the ſame Arts, and to have the fairer Opportunity to oppreſs him, to confirm the Deſire he had of an Agreement with him, but that, ſeeing the Stubbornneſs of his Troops, he accompanied them to avoid greater Miſchief, and adviſed him not to break off the Treaty of an Accommodation, nor regard what further Expences might be neceſſary. But

it

A. D. 1527 it was needleſs to take ſo much Pains with the Pontiff, who believing too much the Thing which he deſired, and deſiring too much to be eaſed of his Expences, as ſoon as he had Advice of the Convention in *Florence*, in the Preſence, and with the Conſent of *Bourbon*'s Agent, had moſt imprudently diſbanded almoſt all the Infantry of the Black Bands; and *Vaudemont*, as in Times of the moſt ſecure Peace, was gone off by Sea towards *Marſeilles*.

Impolitic Step of the Pope.

All the Armies then being arrived in *Tuſcany*, and the Confederates having Intelligence that *Bourbon* had marched in one Day, which was the Twenty-third, from the Pieve of *San Stefano*, to encamp at *Chiaſſa* near *Arezzo*, which is Eighteen Miles; a Council was held of the General Officers aſſembled at *Barberino* on taking proper Meaſures: And many of them, with the Agents of the Pontiff and the *Florentines*, inſiſting that the united Armies ſhould remove to ſome Poſt beyond *Florence*, to deprive *Bourbon* of all Means of Acceſs to that City, it was reſolved that the

the next Day, the Troops being left to reſt themſelves in the ſame Camp, the Generals ſhould go to *Anciſa*, Thirteen Miles diſtant from *Florence*, in order to remove the Troops thither, if they found it a Place of Security for a Camp, as *Federigo da Bozzolo*, the Author of that Counſel, aſſured them. But the Day after, being on their March, and drawing near to *Florence*, an Event unforeſeen, and which was likely to produce very ſad Effects, had it not been remedied, was a great Hinderance to this and other Projects, which would have been put in Execution. For the Animoſities and Diſaffection in *Florence* being riſen to a great Height, and almoſt all the People very uneaſy and diſcontented under the preſent Government, and the Youth of the City inſiſting that the Magiſtrates ſhould deliver them Arms out of the Arſenal, to defend themſelves, as they ſaid, againſt the Soldiers, before any Reſolution was taken, on the Twentieth a certain Tumult happening as it were by Chance to ariſe in the Great Square, the greater Part of the People, and almoſt all the Youth in Arms, began

A. D. 1527.

Tumult in *Florence*.

to

A. D. 1527. to run towards the Townhouſe: And, what gave no ſmall Incentive to this Tumult was either the Imprudence or Timorouſneſs of *Silvio*, Cardinal of *Cortona*, who having appointed to march out of the City to meet the Duke of *Urbino* for doing him Honour, did not change his Reſolution, though he knew that the Tumult was begun before he put himſelf in Motion. Hence a Rumour ſpreading through the City that the Cardinal was fled greatly increaſed the Concourſe to the Townhouſe, which being ſeized by the Youth, and the Square filled by the armed Multitude, they conſtrained the chief Magiſtrate to proclaim, by ſolemn Decree, *Ippolito* and *Aleſſandro*, the Pope's Nephews, Rebels, with a Deſign to introduce anew the popular Government. But, in the mean time, there entered *Florence* the Duke and the Marquis, with many Officers, and with the Cardinal of *Cortona*, and *Ippolito de' Medici*, and they put in Arms Fifteen Hundred Foot, who had been kept ſeveral Days in the City out of Suſpicion: With theſe drawn up in Order they marched all in a Body together towards

towards the Square, which being immediately abandoned by the Multitude, they took Poſſeſſion of it; but being pelted with Stones, and fired at with Harquebuſſes by thoſe in the Townhouſe, none durſt ſtay in the open Square, but poſted themſelves in the circumjacent Streets. A. D. 1527.

Now the Duke of *Urbino* imagining that the Troops which were in *Florence*, (a Thing which, tho' it ſeemed of no Moment, was yet the principal Cauſe of the Deliverance this Day of the City of *Florence* from ſo manifeſt a Danger) were not ſufficient to make him Maſter of the Townhouſe, and judging that, if it were not gained before Night, the Populace would reſume their Spirits, and fly again to their Arms, reſolved, with the Conſent of the three Cardinals that were preſent, namely *Cibo*, *Cortona*, and *Ridolfi*, and of the Marquis of *Saluzzo* and the *Venetian* Proveditors, who were all aſſembled in the Street of the Garbo contiguous to the Square, to call in Part of the *Venetian* Infantry, which were encamped in the Plain of *Florence*, near to the City.

Hence

A. D. 1527. Hence Preparations being made for a dangerous Conteſt, for the Townhouſe could not be taken without the Death of almoſt all the Nobility who were within it, and there was Danger alſo that the victorious Soldiers, when once they had embrued their Hands and Weapons in Blood and Slaughter, would in the Heat of their Fury put all the reſt of the City to the Sack, it was like to be a very bitter and unfortunate Day for the *Florentines*, if the Lieutenant had not at that Inſtant been ready with his Counſel to diſpatch that perplexed and urgent Affair. For ſeeing *Federigo da Bozzolo* coming to them, and gueſſing what had happened, he immediately parted from the Company, and went to meet him, that he might be the firſt to ſpeak to him. *Federigo*, in the Beginning of the Tumult, had repaired to the Townhouſe, in Hopes of quieting the Uproar by the Authority and Favour which he had obtained with many of the Youth: But unable to effect any Thing, and on the contrary affronted with abuſive Words, he had found it very difficult, after ſeveral Hours,

Appeaſed by the Prudence of the Lieutenant.

to

to get Leave to depart. Coming therefore out of the Townhouſe full of Indignation, and knowing how eaſy it was to take it, on account of the ſmall and undiſciplined Force that was in it, he was haſtening to incite the other Commanders to make an immediate Attack upon the Place. But the Lieutenant repreſenting to him, in very few Words, how highly the Pontiff would be diſpleaſed at all the Diſorders that would be conſequent, and how detrimental ſuch a Proceeding muſt be to the common Cauſe of the Confederacy, and how much better it was to ſeek rather to appeaſe than to inflame the Spirits of the Populace, for which Reaſon it would be of pernicious Conſequence to acquaint the Duke of *Urbino* and the reſt with the Facility of maſtering the Townhouſe, drew him without Difficulty into his Sentiments; ſo that *Federigo* diſcourſing with the others repreſented the Caſe directly in the ſame Light as the Lieutenant would have it, and gave ſuch Hopes of compoſing Matters without Arms, that they choſe it as the better Way, and requeſted A. D. 1527.

A. D. 1527. both of them to go together into the Townhouſe, and do their beſt to quiet the Tumult, giving Aſſurances to all Perſons concerned that they ſhould not be charged with having plotted this Day againſt the State. They went thither under a ſafe Conduct from thoſe within the Place, and induced them, not without great Difficulty, to abandon the Townhouſe, which they were unable to defend.

For which he is ill rewarded.

THUS was the Tumult appeaſed, and Affairs in the ſame Situation as before; and yet, as Ingratitude and Calumny are more ready than Praiſe and Recompenſe in their Attendance on good Works, tho' the Name of the Lieutenant was at that preſent celebrated with the higheſt Praiſes, yet the Cardinal of *Cortona* ſoon after complained that, having a more tender Regard to the Safety of the Citizens, and particularly to *Luigi* his Brother, at that time Gonfalonier of Juſtice, than to the Greatneſs of the *Medici*, he had, by his artful Proceeding, been the Cauſe that the State had not that Day been for

ever

ever eſtabliſhed on the Family of the *Medici*, by Arms, and with the Blood of the Citizens: And the Multitude afterwards reproached him for having, by repreſenting, when he went into the Town-houſe, the Danger greater than it was in Reality, induced them, for the Benefit of the *Medici*, to ſurrender without Neceſſity. A. D. 1527.

THE Commotion at *Florence*, tho' quieted the ſame Day, and without Blood, was however the Origin of very grievous Diſorders; and perhaps it may be ſaid that, had it not been for this Event, the Ruin, that very ſpeedily followed, would not have happened. For the Duke of *Urbino*, and the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, on occaſion of this Tumult, ſtayed in *Florence*, and went not to view the Camp of *Anciſa*, according to Appointment: And the next Day *Luigi Piſano*, and *Marco Foſcaro*, the *Venetian* Ambaſſador reſiding at *Florence*, obſerving the Inconſtancy of the City, proteſted that they would not conſent that the Army ſhould paſs *Florence* before the Concluſion of the Bad Conſequences of the Tumult.

A. D. 1527. Confederacy under Debate, in which they demanded a Contribution of Ten Thouſand Foot, thinking it a favourable Opportunity to make this Advantage of the Neceſſity of the *Florentines*. But at laſt the Treaty was concluded the 28th Day, referring the Contribution to the Deciſion of the Pontiff, who was believed by this time to be re-united to the Confederates. Beſides, the Time being come for the Payment of the *Swiſs*, and *Luigi Piſano*, according to the bad Proviſion made by the *Venetians*, having no Money to ſatisfy them, ſome Days paſſed before it could be procured, ſo that the ſalutary Counſel of marching with the Army to encamp at *Anciſa* did not take Effect.

In this State of Affairs the Pontiff remembering how *Bourbon* had over-reached the Viceroy, and was paſſed into *Tuſcany*, turned of neceſſity his Thoughts upon War, and had on the 25th anew concluded a Confederacy with the King of *France* and the *Venetians*, obliging them to aſſiſt him with large Sums of Money, and not conſenting

Pope renews his Confederacy.

ſenting to oblige himſelf or the *Florentines* to contribute beyond their Abilities, alledging the Straits to which both he and they were reduced by the vaſt Expences they had undergone. Theſe Conditions, tho' hard, were approved by the Ambaſſadors of the Confederates, that the Pontiff might be totally ſeparated from the Agreements made with the Viceroy, but were not approved by the Principals. The *Venetians* charged their Ambaſſador *Domenico Veniero* with concluding, without the Senate's Commiſſion, a Confederacy of burdenſome Expence, and of little Fruit, becauſe of the Wavering of the Pontiff, who, they imagined, would, on every Occaſion, return to his former Inconſtancy, and Deſire of Agreement: And the King of *France*, exhauſted of Money, and intent rather on wearying *Cæſar* with the Length of the War, than on Victory, judged it ſufficient, at preſent, to maintain the War with little Expence; and tho' in the Beginning, when he underſtood that the Pontiff had made a Truce, he was very much concerned at it, yet afterwards, when he had better conſi- A. D. 1527.

A. D. 1527. dered the State of Affairs, he was even deſirous that the Pontiff ſhould diſpoſe the *Venetians*, without whom he himſelf would make no Convention, to accept the Truce.

But at this time the Pontiff, who was troubled at the Removal of the War into *Tuſcany*, tho' leſs concerned than if it had been in the Territories of *Rome*, liſted Foot, and made Proviſion of Money, deſigning to ſend *Renzo da Ceri* with a Body of Troops againſt the *Seneſe*, and alſo to attack them by Sea, that *Bourbon* being employed in *Tuſcany* might be prevented from taking the Road to *Rome*. But his Apprehenſions on that Account diminiſhed every Day; for he was in Hopes that, from the Difficulty that muſt attend *Bourbon* in conducting towards *Rome* an Army without Proviſions, and without Money, and from the Opportunity of the State of *Siena*, ſo convenient for him, and where he might at leaſt provide his Troops with Victuals, he would ſtop and prepare for an Enterpriſe againſt the *Florentines*. But *Bourbon*, whether he had at firſt taken a different Reſolution, confirmed

firmed, as many have told us, ſo long ſince as when he was at *Finale*, by the Authority of the Duke of *Ferrara* and *Geronimo Morone*, or doubting of Succeſs in an Enterpriſe upon *Florence*, where the Forces of the whole League were aſſembled for its Defence, and beſides no longer able without Money to maintain the Army, which had hitherto been conducted through ſo many Difficulties with vain Promiſes, and vain Hopes, being under a Neceſſity to try Fortune or periſh, reſolved to march on a ſudden, and with the utmoſt Speed, to make an Aſſault on the City of *Rome*, where the Prize of the Victory, both to *Cæſar* and the Soldiers, would be ineſtimable. And he had no ſmall Hopes of Conqueſt, ſince the Pontiff, with bad Counſel, had diſbanded, firſt the *Swiſs*, and then the Black Bands, and had again, after deſpairing of an Agreement, ſet about making Proviſions with ſuch Slowneſs, that it was judged he would not have Time to aſſemble a ſufficient Garriſon.

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Bourbon reſolves to march to Rome.

A. D. 1527. THE Duke of *Bourbon* then put himſelf on his March with the Army, from the Territory of *Arezzo*, on the 26th Day of *April*, not encumbered with Cannon or Carriages; and making his Way with incredible Speed, without being retarded by the Rains which fell very heavy for ſome Days, or the Want of Proviſions, arrived near *Rome* at a Time when the Pontiff had hardly received any certain Advice of his Coming, meeting with no Obſtacle either in *Viterbo*, whither the Pope had not Time to ſend Troops, nor in any other Place. Wherefore the Pontiff having recourſe, as had been foretold him, by very prudent Perſons, would be the Caſe, in his laſt Neceſſities, and when they could be of no longer Service to him, to thoſe Remedies which, if he had uſed them in Seaſon, would have been of very great Moment to his Security, created three Cardinals for Money, which, on account of the Straitneſs of Time, and Urgency of Affairs, could not be paid down, or if it had been paid would have been of no further Uſe on account of the Nearneſs of the Danger. He called together

Approaches *Rome*.

Terror and Embarraſſment of the Pope.

together the *Romans*, and exhorted them to take Arms with all Speed and Alacrity for the Defence of their dear Country in ſo great a Danger, and the richer Sort in particular to lend their Money for enliſting of Troops. But in this laſt Article he found no manner of Correſpondence to his Deſires; on the contrary, it is ſtill freſh in memory that *Domenico di Maſſimo*, the richeſt of all the *Romans*, offered to lend 100 Ducats, for which he ſuffered the Puniſhment due to ſuch Avarice, his Daughters becoming a Prey to the Soldiers, and himſelf with his Sons, being made Priſoners, obliged to purchaſe their Liberty with a moſt exorbitant Ranſom. A. D. 1527.

Consultation on ſuccouring *Rome*.

BUT when Advice came to *Florence* of *Bourbon*'s Decampment, which was ſent in a Letter from *Vitello* at *Arezzo*, and did not arrive till it was a Day too late, it was reſolved by the Generals that Count *Guido Rangone*, with his own Horſe and thoſe of Count *Gajazzo*, and 5000 Foot of the *Florentines* and of the Church, ſhould immediately march with

A. D. 1527. with all Speed towards *Rome*, to be followed by the reſt of the Forces as ſoon as poſſible, in hopes that, if *Bourbon* carried Artillery with him, the Succour would arrive at *Rome* before him; but if he made the beſt of his Way it would be ſo quick after him, that having no Artillery, and there being a moderate Number of Defendants in *Rome*, where the Pope had written he had 6000 Foot, he would be held in Play till this firſt Relief arrived, after which *Rome* would be out of Danger.

Rome ill provided. BUT the Quickneſs of *Bourbon*, and the ſlender Proviſions made at *Rome*, defeated all theſe Deſigns; for *Renzo da Ceri*, to whom the Pontiff had given the principal Charge of defending *Rome*, having for want of Time liſted only a few Foot that could be of any Service, but a great Rabble of raw, undiſciplined Fellows, got together in a Hurry, out of the Stables of Cardinals and Prelates, and the Shops of Artificers, and from Inns; and having made ſome Fortifications to the Suburb, which every one thought weak,

weak, but ſufficient in his Opinion, he was ſo confident of making a good Defence, that he would not ſuffer the Bridges on the *Tiber* to be broken down for ſaving *Rome*, even if the Suburb, and the Part of the City beyond the *Tiber* could not be defended; and, what is more, judging all Succours needleſs, and having learnt that Count *Guido* was coming with a Reinforcement, he cauſed the Biſhop of *Verona* to write to him on the Fourth of *May*, in the Name of the Pontiff, that, ſince *Rome* was ſufficiently provided and fortified, he ſhould ſend thither only Six or Eight Hundred Harquebuſiers, and march with the reſt of his Troops to join the Army of the League, in conjunction with which he would do more Service than by ſhutting himſelf within *Rome*. This Letter, tho' it did no Harm, becauſe the Count was not ſo far advanced as that he could arrive in Seaſon, was yet a ſufficient Evidence what a wrong Judgment he had formed of the preſent Danger. A. D. 1527.

But it was no leſs wonderful, if it be a Wonder that Men know not how, or are unable

A. D. 1527. unable to reſiſt Fate, that the Pontiff, who uſed to deſpiſe *Renzo da Ceri* above all other Generals, ſhould now throw himſelf wholly into his Arms, and repoſe an entire Confidence in his Judgment; and, what is yet much more ſurpriſing, whereas he was uſually timorous and daunted at leſſer Dangers, and had been ſeveral times inclined to abandon *Rome*, while the Viceroy laid Siege to *Fruſolone*, now, on the contrary, in ſo great a Danger, diveſted of his Nature, he had the Conſtancy to ſtay in the City, with ſuch great Hopes of defending himſelf, that, as if he had taken upon him to be an Agent for his Enemies, he not only prohibited all manner of Perſons to leave the Town, but ordered that no Goods ſhould be ſuffered to be carried out of the Place, as many among the Merchants and others attempted to ſend off their Effects by way of the River.

Pope's unuſual Confidence.

Bourbon with the Army, on the Fifth of *May*, encamped in the Meadows near *Rome*, and with the Inſolence of a Soldier ſent a Trumpet to the Pontiff to demand a Paſſage for himſelf and the Army through the

the City of *Rome* in their Way to the Kingdom of *Naples*. And the next Morning by Break of Day, reſolved to die or conquer, as it was certain that he had but little other Hopes left of his Affairs, he drew near the Suburb on the Quarter of *Monte di Santo Spirito*, and began a fierce Aſſault, Fortune having befriended him in approaching the Army the more ſecurely by the Favour of a thick Fog, which riſing before Day covered the Soldiers till they reached the Place where the Attack was made; in the Beginning of which *Bourbon*, puſhing forwards at the very Front of the Troops, in the utmoſt Deſpair, not only becauſe, if he did not obtain the Victory, he had no other Reſource, but becauſe he fancied the *German* Foot proceeded but coldly to the Aſſault, received a Shot of a Harquebus, and fell dead on the Spot. His Death however was ſo far from cooling that it rather inflamed the Ardor of the Soldiers, who, after fighting with the greateſt Vigour for the Space of Two Hours, entered at laſt the Suburb, being favoured not only by the extraordinary Weakneſs of the Fortifications, but by the

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Rome aſſaulted.

Bourbon killed.

The City taken.

A. D. 1527. the bad Reſiſtance of the Defendants; which laſt may ſerve, as well as many other like Inſtances, for a Demonſtration, to thoſe who have not yet learnt to judge of preſent Events from paſt Examples, how great a Difference there is between the Valour of Men exerciſed in War, and that of new Levies, raiſed from a promiſcuous Rabble, and of a popular Multitude; for Part of the *Roman* Youth aſſiſted at the Defence, under their own Officers of the Militia, and the Banners of the People. Though many of the *Ghibellins*, and of the Faction of the *Colonnas* wiſhed, or at leaſt not feared, Victory to the Imperialiſts, hoping that, out of Reſpect to their Party, they ſhould receive no Injury from them, which occaſioned alſo a greater Coldneſs in the Defence, yet, as it is a difficult Matter to take Towns without Artillery, the Aſſailants had about One Thouſand Men killed on the Spot. As ſoon as the Soldiers had opened themſelves an Entrance, every one betaking himſelf to a precipitate Flight, and Multitudes running in Crowds to the Caſtle, the Suburbs were totally abandoned,

abandoned, and left a Prey to the Conquerors; and the Pontiff, who waited the Succeſs in the Palace of the Vatican, having Notice that the Enemy was within the Walls, inſtantly fled, with many of the Cardinals, into the Caſtle. Here, holding a Conſultation whether it were beſt to ſtay there, or retire through *Rome*, eſcorted by the Light Horſe of his Guards, to ſome Place of Security, being deſtined for an Example to ſhew what Calamities may befal Pontiffs, and alſo how difficult it is to extinguiſh their Authority and Majeſty, on receiving Advice, by *Berardo da Padoua*, who had fled from the Imperial Army, of the Death of *Bourbon*, and that all the Troops, under a Conſternation at the Loſs of their General, were deſirous to make an Agreement with him, he ſent out to demand a Parley with their Heads, and unhappily laid aſide all Thoughts of removing, he and his Generals being no leſs irreſolute in providing for their Defence in the Caſtle, than in ſetting out from thence to a Place of more Safety. Wherefore the ſame Day the *Spaniards*, having found neither Diſpoſi-

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tions

A. D. 1527. tions nor Reſolution for defending the Quarter beyond the *Tiber*, entered the ſame without Reſiſtance, from whence, with the like Eaſe, on the ſame Evening, an Hour before Night, by the Bridge of *Siſto*, they entered the City of *Rome*, where, except thoſe who truſted in the Name of the Faction, and ſome Cardinals, who, becauſe they had the Name of having followed the Party of *Cæſar*, believed themſelves in greater Security than others, all the reſt of the Court and of the City, as it happens in ſuch dreadful Caſes, was in Flight and Confuſion. After they were entered, every one began to run in all Haſte and Diſorder to plunder, without the leaſt Regard not only to the Name of Friends, and to the Authority and Dignity of Prelates, but alſo to Churches and Monaſteries, to Reliques honoured with the Concourſe of all the World, and to Things conſecrated. It would be impoſſible therefore to relate, and almoſt to conceive the Calamities of that City, deſtined by the Decree of Heaven to the higheſt Grandeur, but alſo to frequent Deſtructions (for in the Year 980 it had been

Sacked.

been ſacked by the *Goths*) impoſſible to tell the Greatneſs of the Booty, ſuch was the Abundance of Riches, and ſuch the vaſt Quantities of rare and precious Things of Courtiers and Merchants there accumulated. But it was yet more increaſed by the Quality and great Number of the Priſoners, who were obliged to pay an extravagant Price for their Redemption; and, what was a further Augmentation of the Miſery and Shame, many Prelates, taken by the Soldiers, eſpecially by the *Germans*, who were cruel and inſolent out of Hatred to the Name of the *Roman* Church, were ſet upon ſcrubby Beaſts, with their Faces backwards, in the Habits and Enſigns of their Dignity, and led about all *Rome* with the greateſt Deriſion and Contempt. Many were moſt cruelly tormented, and either expired amidſt their Torments, or were ſo miſerably handled, that they died within a few Days after they had paid their Ranſom. There were killed in the Aſſault, and in the Fury of the Sack, about Four Thouſand Men. The Palaces of all the Cardinals were plundered, except thoſe Pa-

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A. D. 1527. laces for which were paid very large Sums of Money, to ſave the Merchants, who had taken Refuge there with their Effects, as alſo the Perſons and Effects of many others; and ſome of thoſe which had been compounded for with the *Spaniards* were afterwards either plundered by the *Germans*, or underwent a new Compoſition with them. The Marchioneſs of *Mantoua* compounded for her Palace at Fifty Thouſand Ducats, which were paid by the Merchants and others who had fled thither; and it is reported that Don *Ferrando*, her Son, had Ten Thouſand Ducats for his Share. The Cardinal of *Siena*, devoted to the Imperial Name by antient Inheritance from his Progenitors, after he had compounded for himſelf and his Palace with the *Spaniards*, was made a Priſoner by the *Germans*, and, after his Palace had been plundered by them, and himſelf carried into the Suburb, bare-headed, and ſorely buffeted, forced to redeem himſelf from them with Five Thouſand Ducats. The Cardinals of *Minerva* and *Ponzetta* underwent almoſt the like Calamity, being taken Priſoners

by

by the *Germans*, and paying their Ranſom, after they had been both of them firſt led about in a vile Manner all over *Rome* in Proceſſion. The *Spaniſh* and *German* Prelates and Cardinals, imagining themſelves ſecure from being injured by their own Countrymen, were taken, and treated with no leſs Severity than the others. You might hear the lamentable Cries and Shrieks of the *Roman* Women, and of the Nuns, hurried away to Bands of Soldiers to ſatiate their Luſt; ſo that it might be truly ſaid, Hidden to Mortals are the Judgments of God, who was pleaſed to permit the renowned Chaſtity of the *Roman* Women to fall by Force a Sacrifice to ſo great a Degree of Brutality and Miſery. All Places reſounded with infinite Lamentations of thoſe who were miſerably tormented, ſome to conſtrain them to pay their Ranſom, others to diſcover their ſecreted Effects. All conſecrated Things, the Sacraments, and the Reliques of Saints, of which the Churches were full, were ſpoiled of their Ornaments, and thrown about the Ground, with infinite Marks of Contempt from the *Ger-*

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A. D. 1527. man Barbarity; and what eſcaped the Hands of the Soldiers, which was moſtly Things of the leaſt Value, was afterwards carried away by the Peaſants of the *Colonnas* that came into the Town, as did Cardinal *Colonna* himſelf, who arrived the next Day, and ſaved many Women who had fled to his Houſe. It was reported that the Plunder in Money, Gold and Silver Plate, and Jewels, amounted to above a Million of Ducats, but what was raiſed by Ranſoms made yet a much greater Sum.

THE ſame Day that the Imperialiſts took *Rome*, Count *Guido*, with the Light Horſe, and Eight Hundred Harquebuſiers, arrived at *Ponte di Salara*, in order to enter *Rome* the ſame Evening; but underſtanding the Succeſs, he retired to *Otricoli*, where he joined the reſt of his Troops. For tho' he had received Letters from *Rome* which deſpiſed his Succours, he would by no means deſpiſe the Fame of being the Man who had ſuccoured *Rome*, and had therefore continued his March. And there were not wanting ſome, as it is the

the Nature of thoſe who are kind and gentle Eſtimators of their own Actions, but ſevere Cenſurers of the Actions of others, who blame Count *Guido* for not being ſo wiſe as to diſcern a very fair Opportunity. For the Imperialiſts being all very intent on ſo rich a Prey, ſome in ſtripping the Houſes, others in ſearching out Concealments, others in making Priſoners, and ſecuring them afterwards, were diſperſed all over the City without any ſettled Quarters, without reſorting to their Colours, and without paying any Obedience to the Commands of their Generals. Hence many were of Opinion that, if the Troops which were with Count *Guido* had been ſpeedily conducted into *Rome*, they would not only have procured, by preſenting themſelves before the Caſtle, which was not beſieged nor blockaded, the Deliverance of the Pontiff, but would have had an Opportunity of performing a more glorious Exploit, the Enemies being ſo buſy about their Prey, that it would have been difficult, on any Occaſion, to get together any conſiderable Number, eſpecially as it is certain that ſome Days

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A. D. 1527. after, when by Orders of the Generals, or on ſome Accident, an Alarm was given, not a Soldier appeared under his Colours. But Men often perſuade themſelves that, if ſuch a Thing had been done or not done, there would have ſucceeded a certain Effect, whereas, if the Experiment might be tryed, ſuch Judgments would be oftentimes found fallible.

Army of the League marches towards *Rome*.

THERE remained then no Hopes of Relief for thoſe who were blocked up in the Caſtle but only from the Army of the League, which did not ſet out from *Florence* till the Third of *May*, becauſe the *Venetians* had been dilatory in paying the *Swiſs*, and then proceeded, the Marquis of *Saluzzo* keeping a Day's March before the *Venetian* Troops, which, according to the Order ſettled between him and the Duke, were to follow by the ſame Road. The Duke, however, on the Seventh Day, contrary to the Orders that had been given, directed his March from the Camp at *Cortona*, towards *Perugia*, to arrive at *Todi*, and from thence at *Orti*, where he deſigned to paſs the *Tiber*, and join

join the other Forces. In their March by the appointed Road they took by Storm and plundered *Caſtel della Pieve*, which had refuſed to quarter the *Swiſs* within the Place, with the Slaughter of Six or Eight Hundred Men of that Town. By this Diſorder, the Troops being intent on Pillaging, it was the Tenth Day before they were advanced to *Ponte a Granajuolo*, where they had Advice of the Loſs of *Rome*. On the Eleventh they proceeded to *Orvieto*, from whence, by Advice of *Federigo da Bozzolo*, the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, *Federigo* himſelf, and *Ugo de' Pepoli*, with a large Body of Horſe, advanced towards the Caſtle, *Federigo* and *Ugo* deſigning to approach the Place, while the Marquis remained behind to ſupport them, hoping to find the Imperialiſts unprovided, and to have an Opportunity, by their ſudden Arrival, of carrying off the Pontiff and the Cardinals from the Caſtle, eſpecially as it was known that the Soldiers, on account of the Greatneſs of the Booty, had laid aſide all other Thoughts, and were intent on nothing elſe. But the Deſign miſcarried; for *Federigo* having

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A. D. 1527. advanced not far from *Rome* fell with his Horſe atop of him, by which he was ſo much bruiſed, that he could not proceed forwards; and *Ugo* preſenting himſelf near the Caſtle, it being broad Day, whereas it had been ordered to arrive by Night, retired, knowing, as he ſaid, that the Enterpriſe was diſcovered, but, as *Federigo* ſaid, more intimidated than he had need to be.

Slow Motions of the Duke of *Urbino*.

In the mean time the Duke of *Urbino* appriſed of the Fortune of *Rome*, tho' he had declared that he would ſuccour the Pontiff with all his Forces, yet thinking that he had an Opportunity of taking the Adminiſtration of Affairs at *Perugia* out of the Hands of *Gentile Baglione*, who was maintained in it by the Authority of the Pontiff, and reſtoring it to the Sons of *Giampaolo*, approached *Perugia* with the *Venetian* Troops, and with Threats conſtrained *Gentile* to quit the Place, and leaving there ſome Chiefs dependent on *Malateſta* and *Oratio*, one of whom was ſhut up in *Caſtel Sant' Angelo*, and the other with the *Venetian*

tian Forces in *Lombardy*, after he had wasted three Days in this Exploit, he proceeded on the Sixteenth to *Orvieto*, the Way which he had taken, from the Camp at *Cortona* to go beyond the *Tiber* towards *Rome*, having been the Cause of much Delay. At *Orvieto* all the General Officers assembled in Council to resolve on future Proceedings; upon this Subject the Duke of *Urbino* shewing great Warmth in the Preamble to his Speech, represented a Multitude of Difficulties, putting them in Mind above all things to think of securing a Retreat, if the Relief of the Castle should not succeed. For this Reason he was for demanding Hostages of *Orvieto*, that the Army might not fail of being supplied with Provisions at its Return; and requiring a Length of Time for every Affair, he resolved at last to be on the Nineteenth at *Nepi*, and that the Marquis with his Troops, and Count *Guido* with the *Italian* Foot should be the same Day at *Bracciano*, in order for all to proceed next Day to *Isola*, a Place Nine Miles distant from *Rome*.

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A. D. 1527. The Pontiff, appriſed of the Coming of theſe Troops by a Letter of the Lieutenant written from *Viterbo*, refuſed, on this Account, when the Agreement was in a manner concluded between him and the Imperialiſts, to ſubſcribe the Articles, not ſo much for the Hope that he received from the Letter, which, tho' written cautiouſly, gave him ſome Hints of what, by reaſoning on paſt Events, he might expect for the future, as to avoid the Reproach of having it aſcribed to his Cowardice or Precipitation that he had not been ſuccoured. The *French* ſhewed a Readineſs to ſuccour the Caſtle, and the *Venetians* augmented the ſame Diſpoſition by warm Letters, the Prince having harangued with great Vehemence on the Subject in the Council of the Pregadi. The Duke, therefore, having no Excuſe left, conſented that the next Day a Review ſhould be taken of all the Troops, hoping perhaps to find them ſo much diminiſhed in Number as to give him juſt Reaſon for refuſing to fight; a Deſign which proved of no Service, for in the Army, tho' Multitudes had deſerted, there ſtill

ſtill remained above Fifteen Thouſand Foot, and all the Troops were wonderfully diſpoſed and eager to fight. After the Review, on conſulting what was to be done, many were for going and making an Encampment at the Croſs of *Monte Mari*, which was ſollicited by thoſe in the Caſtle with great Earneſtneſs, alledging that, becauſe it was a ſtrong Poſt, and three Miles diſtant from *Rome*, and there was no Reaſon to fear that the Imperialiſts would march forth and encamp without *Rome*, they might keep Poſſeſſion of that Poſt, or make their Retreat without Danger, and from that Quarter might better eſpy as well as embrace an Opportunity for relieving the Caſtle. But the Duke, not pleaſed with this Reſolution, approved of a Way propoſed by *Guido Rangone*, who offered to approach the Caſtle that very Night with all the Eccleſiaſtic Horſe and Foot, and make an Attempt to get out the Pontiff, provided the Duke of *Urbino* with the reſt of the Army would advance as far as the *Tre Capanne* to ſupport him. But this Deſign was not executed at Night, becauſe the Duke, ſtimulated

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Projects for relieving the Pope abortive.

A. D. 1527. lated by the Pontiff, rode to view the Camp of *Monte Mari*, and yet when Night came he did not paſs the *Tre Capanne*, but many Hours being idly ſpent in this Reconnoitring, it was neceſſary to defer the Execution of the Deſign that had been laid to the next Night. But the ſame Day it being reported by certain Spies, either true or ſuborned, that the Entrenchments made by the Imperialiſts in the Meadows were ſtronger than indeed they were, and that they had broken (which alſo was falſe) the Wall of the Corridore, through which you go from the Palace of the *Vatican* to *Caſtel Sant' Angelo* in ſeveral Places, that on the Diſcovery of any Troops they might be able to ſend immediate Succours from ſeveral Quarters, and the Duke on this Report propoſing many Difficulties, which were all allowed by *Guido*, and approved by almoſt all the other General Officers, it was concluded impoſſible at that Time to relieve the Caſtle, the Duke ſharply rebuking ſome of the other Officers who endeavoured by diſputing to maintain the contrary Opinion.

THUS

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THUS did the Pontiff remain a Prey, not ſo much as a ſingle Lance being broken to deliver out of Priſon him who, to ſuccour others, had liſted ſo many Troops, and ſpent an infinite Sum of Money, and ſtirred up War in almoſt all the World. It was however debated whether what was not effected at preſent could not hereafter be accompliſhed with greater Forces. To this Point, which was propoſed by the Duke, it was anſwered by himſelf, that undoubtedly he might relieve the Caſtle whenever there ſhould be in the Army the Number of Sixteen Thouſand *Swiſs*, hired by Appointment of the Cantons, not including among the Number thoſe in the Army at preſent, as become uſeleſs by their long Stay in *Italy*, and, beſides the *Swiſs*, Ten Thouſand *Italian* Harquebuſiers, Three Thouſand Pioneers, and Forty Pieces of Cannon. Wherefore he deſired the Lieutenant to adviſe the Pontiff, who, he underſtood, had Proviſions for ſome Weeks, to defer coming to an Agreement till theſe Forces were aſſembled. And the Lieutenant replying that he

A. D. 1527. he approved of his Propoſition in caſe the Situation of Affairs in the mean time received no Alteration; but as it was probable thoſe in *Rome* would, during that Time, render the Succour more difficult by new Entrenchments and Fortifications; and alſo that the Troops in the Kingdom of *Naples*, which had been brought by the Viceroy in the Fleet, would march to *Rome*; for which Reaſons he deſired to know what Hopes could be given the Pontiff, when ſuch, as it was likely, would be the Events; he anſwered, that in ſuch a Caſe he would do his beſt; adding, that if the Troops which were at *Naples* ſhould join thoſe in *Rome*, they would make together above Twelve Thouſand *German* Foot, and between Eight and Ten Thouſand Foot *Spaniards*; and therefore if the Caſtle ſhould be loſt, it could not be imagined that the War would be brought to a good Iſſue, unleſs they had actually on Foot a Body of at leaſt Twenty-two, or Twenty-four Thouſand *Swiſs*.

THESE Demands being deſpiſed by every

every one as impoſſible, the Army, on the Firſt of *June*, greatly diminiſhed in Foot, retired to *Monteruoſi*, tho' the Pope had made many Inſtances for delaying their Decampment, in order to favour himſelf with their Stay in the Treaty for an Agreement; and the ſame Night *Piermaria Roſſo*, and *Aleſſandro Vitello*, with Two Hundred Light Horſe, went away to *Rome* to the Enemy. *A. D.* 1527. Army of the League retires.

THE Pontiff, who had never entertained much Hopes of Relief, thinking himſelf alſo in Danger of his Life from the *Colonnas* and the *German* Foot, had ſent to *Siena* for the Viceroy, hoping to get better Conditions of him; and the Viceroy went with a good Will, believing that the Army would make him their General. Being arrived at *Rome*, whither he paſſed under a ſafe Conduct from the Generals of the Army, and finding himſelf by no means acceptable to the *German* and *Spaniſh* Foot, who had choſen the Prince of *Orange* Captain General, he durſt not make any Stay there. But as he was taking his Way to *Naples*, he was met

A. D. 1527. met on the Road by the Marquis *del Guaſto*, Don *Ugo*, and *Alarcone*, who adviſed him to return to *Rome*, and prevailed with him. However, as his Preſence was unacceptable to the Army, he had no longer Authority either in Matters of War, or in the Negotiations of Agreement with the Pontiff, who at laſt, deſtitute of all Hopes, on the Sixth of *June*, agreed with the Imperialiſts almoſt on the ſame Conditions as he might have done before. By this Convention the Pontiff was to pay the Army Four Hundred Thouſand Ducats, that is, One Hundred Thouſand at preſent, which were paid with the Money and Gold and Silver Plate conveyed for Safety into the Caſtle, Fifty Thouſand within Twenty Days, and Two Hundred and Fifty Thouſand within Two Months, aſſigning for Payment of this laſt Sum a pecuniary Tax, to be levied on the whole State of the Church: He was to deliver up to *Cæſar*, who was to keep Poſſeſſion as long as he thought fit, *Caſtel Sant' Angelo*, with the Caſtles of *Oſtia*, *Civita Vecchia*, and *Civita Caſtellana*, and the Cities of *Piacenza*, *Parma*, and *Modena*:

Pope agrees with the Imperialiſts.

The Terms.

He

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He was to remain a Priſoner, with all the Cardinals that were with him, in Number Thirteen, till the firſt Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Ducats were paid; after which they were to be removed to *Naples* or *Gaeta*, in expectation of what *Cæſar* ſhould determine concerning them: For Security of the Payments, a third Part of which belonged to the *Spaniards*, the Pontiff was to give Hoſtages to the Army, namely, the Archbiſhops of *Siponte* and *Piſa*, the Biſhops of *Piſtoja* and *Verona*, *Jacopo Salviati*, *Simone da Ricaſoli*, and *Lorenzo* the Brother of Cardinal *Ridolfi*: Free Liberty for going out of the Caſtle was to be granted to *Renzo da Ceri*, *Alberto Pio*, *Oratio Baglione*, and to the Chevalier *Caſale*, Ambaſſador of the King of *England*, with all others who had taken Refuge there, except the Pontiff and the Cardinals: The Pontiff was to abſolve the *Colonnas* from the Cenſures which they had incurred, and when he ſhould be conducted out of *Rome*, was to leave there a Legate as his Deputy, and the Court of the Rota to adminiſter Juſtice.

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As ſoon as the Convention was ſigned, there entered the Caſtle three Companies of *Spaniſh* and three others of *German* Foot, commanded by *Alarcone*, who being appointed to take Charge of the Caſtle, and of the Pontiff, was very diligent in guarding him, confining him to a narrow Apartment, and allowing him but very little Liberty.

Pope ſtrictly guarded.

But the other Fortreſſes and Towns, that had been promiſed, were not reſigned with the ſame Facility; for that of *Civita Caſtellana* was garriſoned by Commiſſion from the Confederates, and *Andrea Doria* refuſed to reſign the Caſtle of *Civita Vecchia*, tho' he had the Pontiff's Orders to do it, before he was paid Fourteen Thouſand Ducats, which, he ſaid, were due to him for his Pay. And when *Giuliano*, a *Roman* Architect, by Commiſſion from the Pontiff, and *Lewis* Count *Lodron* from the Generals came to *Parma* and *Piacenza* with Orders to thoſe Cities to put themſelves under the Dominion of *Cæſar*, tho', on the other hand, the Pontiff had ſecretly

Towns refuſe Submiſſion to *Cæſar*.

ſignified to them thecontrary, theſe Places, abhorring the Government of the *Spaniards*, refuſed to grant them Admittance. A. D. 1527.

BUT the *Modeneſe* were no longer in their own Power; for the Duke of *Ferrara*, not letting ſlip the Opportunity preſented him by the Calamities of the Pontiff, and threatening to deſtroy the Corn which was juſt ripe, conſtrained them to ſurrender their City into his Hands on the Sixth of *June*, not without Diſgrace to Count *Lodovico Rangone*, who, tho' the Duke had but few Troops with him, abandoned the Place without making any Shew of Reſiſtance. And the Duke in this Affair deſpiſed the Authority of the *Venetians*, who adviſed him not to make, at ſuch a Juncture, any Innovation to the Prejudice of the Church. And yet they themſelves, having ſome Intelligence with the *Guelfs* of *Ravenna*, ſent thither ſome Troops under Colour of guarding it for fear of thoſe of *Cotignuola*, and appropriated that City to themſelves, and took alſo the Caſtle, the Governor being privately aſſaſſinated, publiſhing that they

Ravenna ſeized by the *Venetians*.

A. D. 1527. would hold the Place in the Name of the whole League. And a few Days after they ſeized on *Cervia*, and the Saltworks there which belonged to the Pontiff, in whoſe State, as there was none to guard or defend it, except ſo far as was done by the People themſelves of their own Accord, and for their own Intereſt, *Sigiſmondo Malateſta*, with the ſame Eaſe, took Poſſeſſion of the City and Caſtle of *Rimini*.

Rimini by *Malateſta.*

Nor had the Affairs of the Pontiff met with any better Succeſs in the City of *Florence*; for as ſoon as the News arrived there of the Loſs of *Rome*, the Cardinal of *Cortona*, terrified to find himſelf abandoned by the Citizens, who made Profeſſion of being Friends of the *Medici*, having no Way to make Proviſion of Money but by violent and extraordinary Means, and loth, out of Covetouſneſs, to break in upon his own Stock, at leaſt till he was appriſed of the Progreſs of the Armies which were marching to ſuccour the Pontiff, not induced by any Neceſſity, for there was a good Number of Soldiers in the City, and the People, diſmayed at what

Revolution at *Florence.*

what had happened on their ſeizing the Townhouſe, would not have ventured to ſtir, reſolved to give way to Fortune; and, calling an Aſſembly of the Citizens, he put them in full and free Poſſeſſion of the Adminiſtration of the Republic, on obtaining certain Privileges and Exemptions, with Leave for the Pontiff's Nephews to ſtay in *Florence* as private Citizens, and a general Amneſty for all paſt Offences againſt the State. Theſe Things being ſettled on the Sixteenth of *May*, the Cardinals, with the Pontiff's Nephews, departed to *Lucca*, where, ſoon repenting of the Reſolution that he had taken with ſo much Timorouſneſs, he try'd whether he could retain the Citadels of *Piſa* and *Livorno*, which were in the Hands of Governors that were truſty Friends to the Pontiff, who however, within a very few Days, deſpairing of Relief on account of the Pope's Captivity, and receiving alſo a certain Sum of Money, reſigned thoſe Fortreſſes to the *Florentines*. The City being reduced to a popular Government, the *Florentines* created Gonfalonier of Juſtice for one Year, and with a Power to

A. D. 1527.

A. D. 1527. be confirmed for three Years, *Nicolo Capponi*, a Citizen of great Authority, and a Lover of Liberty. This Perſon, deſirous above all Things of Concord among the Citizens, and that the Government ſhould be reduced to the moſt perfect Form that was poſſible of a Republic, calling together the next Day the Great Council, in which reſided the abſolute Power of enacting Laws, and of creating all the Magiſtrates, ſpoke as follows:

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THE Words of the Gonfalonier were of very great Weight, and his Counſel was certainly very prudent, and if the Citizens had hearkened to it, the new Liberty would perhaps have been of longer Duration. But as Spite and Indignation are more conſpicuous in thoſe who recover Liberty, than in thoſe who defend it, and the Hatred of the People towards the Name of the *Medici* was great on many Accounts, and eſpecially becauſe they had in a great meaſure ſupported with their own

Florentines incenſed againſt the Medici.

A. D. 1527.

own Money, the Enterpriſes undertaken by them; ſince it appears that they ſpent in getting Poſſeſſion, and afterwards in the Defence of the Dutchy of *Urbino*, above Five Hundred Thouſand Ducats, as much more in the War excited by *Leo* againſt the King of *France*, and in the Troubles that ſucceeded after his Death, and were dependant on that War, Three Hundred Thouſand paid to the Imperial Generals and the Viceroy before and after the Creation of *Clement*, and now above Six Hundred Thouſand in the War undertaken againſt *Cæſar*; they began to perſecute immoderately thoſe Citizens who had been Friends of the *Medici*, and, to teſtify their Averſion to the Name of the Pontiff, they defaced with great Eagerneſs the Arms of the *Medici* in all Parts of the City, even thoſe affixed to Edifices erected by that Family; they broke in Pieces the Statues of *Leo* and *Clement* that ſtood in the Church of the *Annunciata*, famous throughout the World; they appropriated the Pope's Effects to the Payment of old Debts, and the greater Part of them omitted nothing that could ſerve

A. D. 1527. to provoke the Anger of the Pontiff, and to foment Diviſions and Diſcord in the City, and they would have proceeded to more and greater Diſorders, had it not been for the Interpoſition of the Prudence and Authority of the Gonfalonier, which however were not ſufficient to remedy many Irregularities.

But in *Rome* were arrived the Marquis *del Guaſto*, and Don *Ugo*, with all the *German* and *Spaniſh* Foot that were in the Kingdom of *Naples*; ſo that there were ſaid to be aſſembled together Eight Thouſand *Spaniards*, Twelve Thouſand *Germans*, and Four Thouſand *Italians*; an Army that, by the Reputation it had acquired, by the Terror that it carried, and by the weak Proviſions that were made to oppoſe it, muſt have made whatever Progreſs it pleaſed in *Italy*. But the Prince of *Orange* being General only in Name and Title, the Army was in Fact governed by itſelf, and being wholly intent on Booty and Ranſoms, and collecting the Money promiſed by the Pontiff, had no Thought on the Intereſt of *Cæſar*.

Imperialiſts diſorderly in *Rome*.

The

The Soldiers therefore had no Mind to leave *Rome*, where behaving themſelves in a tumultuous and diſorderly Manner, the Viceroy, and the Marquis *del Guaſto*, apprehenſive of Danger to their Perſons from the Troops, left the City; and thoſe who remained in it were expoſed to the Peſtilence, which was already begun, and afterwards made terrible Havock in the Place. A. D. 1527. Plague in *Rome*.

By this Conduct the Imperialiſts loſt the Opportunity for many Enterpriſes, and eſpecially for the Acquiſition of *Bologna*, which City, tho', after the Loſs of *Rome*, *Ugo de' Peppoli* had entered it with One Thouſand Foot, in the Pay of the *Venetians*, yet *Lorenzo Malvezzi* raiſing a Tumult, with the tacit Conſent of *Ramazotto*, and with the Aſſiſtance of the Faction of the *Bentivogli*, was with Difficulty kept in Obedience to the Apoſtolic See: And, what is perhaps of no leſs Importance, they gave Time to the King of *France* to ſend a very powerful Army into *Italy*, by which *Cæſar* was in very great Danger, after acquiring ſo ſignal an Advantage,

A. D. 1527. Confederacy between the Kings of *France* and *England.*

Advantage, of loſing the Kingdom of *Naples*. For, a long Time having been ſpent before in *France* on making Preparations for a new War, the Confederacy, which had been many Months under Negotiation between the King of *France* and the King of *England*, was concluded on the 24th of *April*, on Condition, That the Daughter of the King of *England* ſhould be married either to the King of *France*, or to the Duke of *Orleans*, his ſecond Son; and that in the Interview between the two Kings, which was deſigned to be at Whitſuntide between *Calais* and *Bologne*, it ſhould be agreed to which of them ſhe ſhould be given: That the King of *England* ſhould renounce the Title of King of *France*, receiving in Recompenſe a yearly Penſion of Fifty Thouſand Ducats: That he ſhould enter into the League made at *Rome*, and be bound to commence a War, ſome time in *July* next, againſt *Cæſar*, beyond the Mountains, with Nine Thouſand Foot, and the King of *France* with Eighteen Thouſand, and a ſuitable Number of Lances and Artillery; and that, in the

the mean time, they ſhould each of them ſend Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, to intimate to him the Confederacy they had made, and to demand of him the Releaſement of the Children, and to enter into the Peace on honourable Conditions; and, in caſe he ſhould not accept the Offer within one Month, to denounce War, and to begin Acts of Hoſtility. This Agreement being made, the King of *England* immediately entered into the League, and he and the King of *France* ſent poſt two Meſſengers to give the appointed Intimations to *Cæſar*, which was performed with more Readineſs by the *French* and *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, than had been done by Commiſſion from the Pontiff; for *Baldaſſarre da Caſtiglione*, his Nuncio, ſaying that it was not fit to exaſperate the Mind of *Cæſar* to ſuch a degree, refuſed to denounce War againſt him.

A. D. 1527.

BUT Advice coming afterwards to *France* of the Loſs of *Rome*, and the leſſer Sorrow of the Misfortune of the Pontiff being tempered with the greater Joy for the Death of *Bourbon*, the King not

A. D. 1527. not thinking it fit to let the Affairs of *Italy* run to Ruin, on the Fifteenth of *May*, agreed with the *Venetians* to take into their common Pay Ten Thouſand *Swiſs*, he making them the firſt Payment, and the *Venetians* the ſecond, and ſo for the future ſucceſſively; and to ſend Ten Thouſand *French* Foot under *Pietro Navarra*, while the *Venetians* were to inliſt Ten Thouſand *Italian* Foot between them and the Duk of *Milan*; alſo to ſend a new Supply of Five Hundred Lances, and Eighteen Pieces of Artillery. And becauſe the King of *England*, notwithſtanding the Conventions that had been made, did not readily concur in beginning Hoſtilities on the other Side of the Mountains, which alſo was not agreeable to the King of *France*, each of them being deſirous to keep the War at a Diſtance from his own Kingdom, they diſpenſed with him from that Obligation, and agreed that the King of *England* ſhould pay for the War of *Italy* Ten Thouſand Foot for ſix Months; and, at the Inſtances of that King chiefly, *Lautrech*, tho' in a manner againſt

King of *France* makes a new Agreement with the *Venetians*.

againſt his Will, was choſen Captain General of the whole Army. A. D. 1527.

While *Lautrech* was preparing to paſs the *Alps*, with Proviſion of Money and other Things neceſſary, nothing of Moment happened in *Italy*: For the Imperial Army did not remove from *Rome*, tho' many of them were ſwept off every Day by the Malignity of the Peſtilence, which at the ſame time made very great Progreſſes in *Florence*, and in many Parts of *Italy*; and the Army of the League, into which, at the Inſtances of the Marquis of *Saluzzo* and the *Venetians*, the *Florentines* had anew entered, with an Obligation to pay Five Thouſand Foot, (by which *Cæſar* was highly offended, becauſe having, at their own Sollicitations, commiſſioned the Duke of *Ferrara* to compound in his Name with the *Florentines*, he received almoſt immediate Notice of the contrary Reſolution) greatly diminiſhed in Number, becauſe the Troops of the *Venetians* and the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, and the *Swiſs* were but badly paid, was retired on the Side of *Viterbo*, and employed in tempo-

Motions of the Army of the League.

A. D. 1527. temporiſing, and endeavouring to preſerve in their Devotion to the League the Cities of *Perugia*, *Orvieto*, *Spoleto*, and other neighbouring Towns. Here, on receiving Advice afterwards that Part of the Imperial Army was marched out of *Rome*, tho' it was only for the Sake of refreſhing themſelves with the pure and open Air, being apprehenſive that they would be followed by all the reſt after the firſt Payment, the Army retired to *Orvieto*, and afterwards near to *Caſtello della Pieve*, from whence it would have retired further into the Dominions of the *Florentines*, if they would have conſented.

THE Peſtilence had alſo ſpread itſelf into the Caſtle of *Sant' Angelo*, with great Danger to the Pope's Life, for ſome of thoſe who ſerved about his Perſon died of it. Labouring therefore under ſo many Calamities, and having no Hopes but in the Clemency of *Cæſar*, he appointed for Legate to him, with the Conſent of the Generals, *Aleſſandro* Cardinal *Farneſe*, who, after he had, on this Occaſion, got himſelf out of the Caſtle and out of *Rome*, refuſed

Pope appoints a Legate to *Cæſar*.

refuſed to go on the Legation. The Generals had a Mind to conduct the Pontiff and the thirteen Cardinals that were with with him, to *Gaeta*, but by great Diligence, Intreaties and Art, he diverted their Reſolution. A. D. 1527.

AT laſt *Lautrech*, having made the neceſſary Diſpatches, ſet out from Court, on the laſt day of *June*, with Eight Hundred Lances, and with the Title, becauſe the King was pleaſed to have it ſo, of Captain General of all the League; and the King of *England*, inſtead of Ten Thouſand Foot, was rated to pay, beginning with *June*, Thirty Two Thouſand Crowns each Month, with which were to be paid Ten Thouſand *German* Foot, under *Vaudemont*, a choice Body of Troops, and much exerciſed, having given ſeveral Defeats to the *Lutherans*. The King of *France* hired alſo *Andrea Doria*, with eight Gallies, and Thirty Six Thouſand Crowns each Year. *Lautrech* ſets out for *Italy*.

BUT, before *Lautrech* had paſſed the Mountains, the Troops of the *Venetians*, and

A. D. 1527. and of the Duke of *Milan*, in conjunction advanced to *Marignano*, from whence *Antonio da Leva*, marching out of *Milan* with Eight Hundred *Spaniſh* and as many *Italian* Foot, and a good Body of Horſe, conſtrained them to retire. About the ſame Time the Governor of *Mus*, who was taken into the Pay of the King of *France*, while he waited on the Lake of *Como* for the Coming of the *Swiſs*, took by Stratagem the Caſtle of *Monguzzo*, ſituate between *Lecco* and *Como*, in which reſided *Aleſſandro Bentivogli*, as in his own Houſe. *Antonio da Leva* ſent *Lodovico dd Belgiojoſo* to recover it, who, after ſtorming it in vain, went off to *Moncia*. But *Antonio* afterwards, having Notice that the Governor was advanced with Two Thouſand Five Hundred Foot to *Carato* a Country Seat fourteen Miles diſtant from *Milan*, returned to that City, where leaving only Two Hundred Men, tho' the *Venetians* were within ten Miles of it, he ſet out by Night with the reſt of the Army, and by Sunriſe made a ſudden Attack on the Troops of the Governor, which, on hearing the Noiſe, iſſued out of the

the Houſes, where they quartered, and retired into a Plain ſurrounded with Hedges near the Houſe, not imagining that all the Enemy's Troops were there; but tho' they put themſelves in Order, they were in that low Place, as in a Priſon without Defence, taken and killed, except a good Number which fled in the Beginning, on perceiving that the Governor had done the ſame. A. D. 1527. Governor of *Mus* routed.

In the mean time *Cæſar* had, by a Letter from the Great Chancellor, who was come into *Italy* purſuant to his Orders, dated at *Monaco*, received Advice of the Capture of the Pontiff; and tho' in * Words he pretended to be extremely concerned at it, yet it was perceived that in Secret he had been very well pleaſed with it, nay he did not wholly abſtain from ſhewing extream Marks of his Satisfaction, not having, on this Account, put a Stop to the Rejoicings, begun before, for the Birth of a Son. Pope's Misfortune how taken by *Cæſar*.

* The Emperor, as ſoon as he underſtood that the Pontiff was taken, put on Black in token of Mourning, and made a Show of great Grief. *Tarcagnotta*.

A. D. 1527.

But the Deliverance of the Pontiff being moſt ardently deſired by the King of *England*, and by the Cardinal of *York*, and their Authority intereſting in it alſo the King of *France*, who, if he had recovered his Children, would have but little Concern for the Misfortunes of the Pontiff, or of all *Italy*, the two Kings jointly ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar* to demand his Liberty, as a Matter that concerned all the Chriſtian Princes in general, and as due in particular from *Cæſar*, depending on whoſe Honour, he had, by his Generals, and by his Army, been reduced to ſuch great Miſery. At the ſame time they ſollicited the Cardinals that were in *Italy* to join with the Ultramontane Cardinals in holding an Aſſembly at *Avignon*, in order to conſult, in ſo difficult a Juncture, on what was to be done for the Benefit of the Church. But the *Italian* Cardinals, to avoid putting themſelves all in the Hands of ſuch powerful Princes, refuſed, tho' with different Excuſes, to repair to *Avignon*. On the other ſide Cardinal *Salviati*, Legate with

His Liberty demanded by the Kings of *France* and *England*.

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the King of *France*, requeſted by the Pontiff to repair to *Cæſar*'s Court, in order to take care of his Affairs at the Coming of Don *Ugo*, who was to go thither according to Agreement in the Treaty, refuſed to comply, as if it were of pernicious Conſequence that ſo many Cardinals ſhould be in the Power of *Cæſar*. He ſent however, by a Gentleman of his Bedchamber, the Inſtructions he had received from *Rome* to the Auditor of the Chamber, reſident with *Cæſar*, in order to treat with him, who put him off with very kind Words, but a varying and uncertain Reſolution. *Cæſar* could have wiſhed that the Perſon of the Pontiff might be conducted into *Spain*; but becauſe it was a Thing in itſelf full of Scandal, and that he might not offer ſo great a Provocation to the King of *England*, and alſo becauſe all the Kingdoms of *Spain*, and eſpecially the Prelates and Lords, highly deteſted that a *Roman* Emperor, the Protector and Advocate of the Church, ſhould, ſo greatly to the Diſhonour of all Chriſtendom, keep in Priſon the Man who repreſented the Perſon of Chriſt on

A. D. 1527.

A. D. 1527. Earth, for theſe Reaſons, after he had given a gracious Anſwer to the Ambaſſadors, and, as to the Inſtances which they made to him for Peace, ſaid he was content that the King of *England* ſhould have the Management of it, which was accepted by them, he ſent, on the Third of *Auguſt*, the General of the *Franciſcans* into *Italy*, and four days after *Veri di Migliau*, both of them, as it was ſaid, with a Commiſſion to the Viceroy for the Deliverance of the Pope, and the Reſtitution of all the Towns and Fortreſſes that had been taken from him. He conſented alſo that, for his Support, his Nuncio ſhould ſend him a certain Sum of Money raiſed by Collection in thoſe Kingdoms, which in their Cortes, or Parliaments, had refuſed to grant Money to *Cæſar*.

Ordered by *Cæſar*.

About this Time, towards the End of *July*, the Cardinal of *York*, with Twelve Hundred Horſe, paſſed over to *Calice*. The King of *France*, willing to give him a very favourable Reception, ſent the Cardinal of *Lorrain* to meet him; and

and after this the King himſelf, on the Third of *Auguſt*, went to *Amiens*; into which *York* the next Day made his Entry with extraordinary Pomp, being the more reſpected, becauſe he had brought with him Three Hundred Thouſand Crowns for occurrent Expences, and to lend to the King of *France*, if he ſhould want it. Here Debates were held between them on Matters relating to Peace and War; and tho' the Views of the King of *France* were different from thoſe of the King of *England*, for he would have left the Pontiff and *Italy* for a Prey to obtain his Children, yet he had been under the Neceſſity to promiſe him to make no Agreement with *Cæſar* without the Releaſement of the Pontiff. Wherefore, when *Cæſar* had ſent the Articles of Peace to the King of *England*, it was anſwered, in the Name of both the Kings, that they would accept of the Peace with the Reſtitution of the Children, paying him, at certain Times, two Millions of Ducats, the Freedom of the Pontiff, and of the Eccleſiaſtic State, the Preſervation of all the States and Governments of *Italy* as they

A. D. 1527.

Articles of Peace ſent by the Kings to *Cæſar*.

A. D. 1527. were at preſent, and, laſtly, univerſal Peace. And it was agreed between them that, on *Cæſar*'s Acceptance of theſe Articles, the Daughter of *England* ſhould be given in Marriage to the Duke of *Orleans*, that the Matrimony of the King with *Cæſar*'s Siſter might go forward; but if the Peace did not ſucceed, ſhe ſhould be married to the King. Having ſent theſe Articles, they refuſed to grant a Paſs to a Man whom *Cæſar* asked Leave to ſend into *France*, anſwering him, that there needed no more than ſending him the ſaid Articles.

On his rejecting them War reſolved.

ON *Cæſar*'s Refuſal to accept theſe Articles, the Peace and Confederacy between the two Kings was, on the 18th day of *Auguſt*, ſworn and ſolemnly publiſhed: And they reſolved to make a vigorous War in *Italy*, with a View principally to the Deliverance of the Pontiff, but freely intruſting the Manner and Means of proſecuting it to the Skill and Management of *Lautrech*, who, before his Departure, had obtained of his King all the Diſpatches he demanded, the King being bent

bent on making a laſt and as it were definitive Effort. *York* was alſo willing that the Chevalier *Caſale*, who was intruſted with the Thirty Two Thouſand Ducats payable each Month, ſhould attend the Camp as Agent for his King, to be certified that the Number of *Germans* was complete. The Management of the War in *Italy* being thus ſettled, *York* ſet out on his Return, diſpatching away at his Departure the Protonotary *Gambero* to the Pontiff, to adviſe him to conſtitute him his univerſal Vicar in *France*, *England*, and *Germany*, during his Impriſonment. A. D. 1527.

In the mean time few Acts of Hoſtility paſſed in *Italy*, there being great Expectations of the Coming of *Lautrech*. For the Imperial Army, full of Diſorder, and diſobedient to their Generals, burdenſome to their Friends, and to the conquered Towns, made no Motion, nor gave any Fear to their Enemies. The *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Infantry, to avoid the Contagion of the Peſtilence, were diſperſed in Quarters in the Country about *Rome*. The Prince of *Orange*, with One Hundred

A. D. 1527. and fifty Horſe was gone to *Siena*, both to avoid the Plague, and to keep that City firm to the Intereſt of *Cæſar*, having before ſent thither ſome Foot. For the People of that Place, excited by ſedi-

Tumult at *Siena.* tious Heads, had tumultuouſly plundered the Houſes of the Citizens of the *Monte de' Nove*, and maſſacred *Pietro Borgheſi*, a Citizen of Authority, together with a Son of his, and ſixteen or eighteen others.

In *Rome* there remained now only the *Germans*, over-run with the Plague, who having been, with very great Difficulty, ſatisfied by the Pontiff as to the firſt Payment of One Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Crowns, partly in Money, partly in Bills on the Merchants of *Genoa*, to be paid out of the Tenths of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Sale of *Benevento*, demanded, for the reſt of the Money that was due, other Securities, and another Aſſignment beſides the Tax laid on the Eccleſiaſtic State; Things impoſſible to the Pontiff, while under Impriſonment. Wherefore, after uſing many Threatenings with the Hoſtages, and keeping them in Chains with

with very great Severity, they led them forth, in an ignominious Manner, into the *Campo di Fiore*, where they erected a Gibbet, as if they intended to hang them up immediately. After this they all marched out of *Rome*, without Commanders of any Authority, rather to take the Benefit of the Air, and to refreſh themſelves, than with a Deſign to undertake any thing of Importance; and, having plundered the Cities of *Terni* and *Narni*, *Spoleto* agreed to give them Paſſage and Proviſions. Wherefore the Army of the Allies, for the Security of *Perugia*, made a Motion, in order to encamp at *Pontenuovo* beyond that City, having before lain encamped on the Lake of *Perugia*, but much diminiſhed in Number with reſpect to the Obligations of the Confederates. For the Marquis had three Hundred Lances, three Hundred *French* Archers, three Thouſand *Swiſs*, and One Thouſand *Italian* Foot; and the Duke of *Urbino* had with him Five Hundred Men at Arms, three Hundred Light Horſe, one Thouſand *German* Foot, and two Thouſand *Italians*; the *Venetians* alledging, in their Excuſe, that they

A. D. 1527.

Motion of the Armies.

A. D. 1527. they fulfilled their Obligation by the Troops which they kept in the Dutchy of *Milan*. The *Florentines* had Eighty Men at Arms, One Hundred and Fifty Light Horſe, and Four Thouſand Foot; being under a Neceſſity of keeping themſelves better provided than the other by their continual Apprehenſions that the Imperial Army would invade *Tuſcany*, on which Account their Troops were regularly paid, which was not the Caſe of the other Forces.

Duke of *Urbino* under Diſpleaſure.

BUT the Duke of *Urbino*, beſides his old Difficulties, was under very great Dejection, almoſt to Deſpair, on knowing that the King of *France* and *Lautrech* did not ſpeak honourably of him; but much more becauſe he was in very bad Eſteem with the *Venetians*, who, grown ſuſpicious either of his Fidelity or of his Conſtancy, had ſet a ſtrict Guard over his Wife and Son, who were in *Venice*, that they might not depart without their Leave, and openly condemned his Advice, which was, that *Lautrech* ſhould march towards *Rome* without making any Attempt in *Lombardy*.

THIS

A. D. 1527.

THIS Army therefore lay idle and unactive, in which Situation they took it as a great Favour not to be diſturbed by the Imperialiſts, who advanced no further that Way; but not long after, on receiving of the Marquis *del Guaſto*, who was come to the Army, two Crowns each Man, the *Germans*, in no good Harmony with the *Spaniards*, returned to *Rome*, the *Spaniards* and *Italians* remaining in their Quarters extended to *Alviano*, *Tigliano*, *Caſtiglione della Teverina*, and towards *Bolſena*; but the Forces were ſo greatly diminiſhed, eſpecially the *Germans*, by the Peſtilence, that it was believed *Cæſar* had not in his whole Army above Ten Thouſand Foot left.

Cæſar's Army diminiſhed.

BUT before this Departure the Generals of the League did an Act worthy of eternal Infamy: For *Gentile Baglione* being returned to *Perugia* with the Conſent of *Oratio*, who, declaring that the Differences between them were pernicious to all, had pretended to be reconciled to him, *Federigo da Bozzolo*, with the Conſent of all the Generals,

A. D. 1527. Generals, went thither to ſignify to him that, having found out that he held private Correſpondence with the Enemy, they had thought fit to ſecure his Perſon, though he juſtified himſelf, and promiſed to go to *Caſtiglione del Lago*, and left him in the Cuſtody of *Gigante Corſo*, a Colonel of the *Venetians*. But the ſame Evening he was murdered with two of his Nephews by ſome of *Oratio*'s Ruffians, and by his Orders, who alſo about the ſame time cauſed another Murder to be committed, out of *Perugia*, on *Galeotto*, the Brother of *Braccio*, and who was alſo a Nephew of *Gentile*.

Infamous Action.

The Confederates after this ſent ſome Troops to take Poſſeſſion of *Camerino*, on Advice that the Duke was dead; but *Sforza Baglione* was already arrived there in the Name of the Imperialiſts, and afterwards *Sciarra Colonna* entered the Place in Behalf of *Ridolfo* his Son-in-Law, Son of the deceaſed Duke. After this the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, and *Federigo*, with a good Number of Horſe, and one Thouſand Foot, made an Aſſault by night on the Abbey

Abbey of *San Pietro* near *Terni*, in which were *Piermaria Roſſo* and *Aleſſandro Vitelli* with Two Hundred Horſe, and Four Hundred Foot. This Enterpriſe, tho' raſh in itſelf, becauſe the Place was not to be taken with ſuch a Garriſon without Artillery, was yet rendered ſucceſsful either by the Imprudence or Avarice of thoſe Officers, who had the ſame Day ſent One Hundred and Fifty Harquebuſiers to pillage a neighbouring Caſtle, and ſo had left themſelves deſtitute of Troops neceſſary for their Defence; by which means, tho' they defended themſelves many Hours, they were forced at laſt to yield at Diſcretion, with Safety however to the Perſons of *Piermaria Roſſo* and *Aleſſandro Vitelli*, with their Effects, theſe Officers being both wounded, one in the Leg, and the other in the Hand, with Harquebuſes. *A. D.* 1527.

Abbey of *San Pietro* taken by the Confederates.

AT this time the River *Tiber*, breaking its Banks in three or four Places, made an Inundation, with very great Damage to the Camp of the League, which obliged the Generals to return towards *Aſceſi*, the

A. D. 1527. the Imperialiſts ſtill continuing between *Terni* and *Narni*. Afterwards, advancing further, the Duke of *Urbino* took up his Quarters at *Narni*, the *French* at *Bevagna*, and the Black Bands, commanded by *Oratio Baglione*, Captain General of the *Florentine* Infantry, having no Quarters aſſigned them, entered the Town of *Montefalco*, and plundered it. Part of their Foot afterwards attacked *le Preſſe*, a Caſtle to which were retired *Ridolfo da Varano* and *Beatrice* his Wife, who unable to defend themſelves ſurrendered at Diſcretion, tho' not long after they recovered their Liberty; for *Sciarra*, unable any longer to maintain himſelf in Poſſeſſion of *Camerino*, on account of the Moleſtation he received from the Army of the League, made an Agreement to evacuate it, on condition of redeeming his Son-in-Law and his Daughter. The Marquis of *Saluzzo* and *Federigo* attempted alſo, with the *French* Cavalry and Two Thouſand Foot, to ſurpriſe and ſtrip the *Spaniſh* Horſe quartered in *Monte ritondo* and *Lamentano* without Guards or Scouts, according to the Report of *Mario Orſini*. It was a March

Motions of the Confederate Army.

of

of three Days, but they proceeded with ſo little Order that they were diſcovered, and returned back without doing any Thing, having deſigned, in order to intercept the Enemy's Flight, to cut at the ſame time the Bridge of *Teverone*. A. D. 1527.

NOT much different from theſe Operations during the whole Summer were thoſe of the Soldiers in *Lombardy*, where the Troops of the *Venetians* and of the Duke having joined together near *Milan*, with an Intention to cut the Corn of that Territory, had routed the Convoy of Proviſions, killed One Hundred Foot, and taken Thirty Men at Arms, with Three Hundred ſerviceable and unſerviceable Horſes. But they proceeded no farther againſt the Corn, becauſe the Troops of the *Venetians*, according to their Cuſtom, ſoon diminiſhed. *Andrea Doria* with his Fleet was retired towards *Savona*, and the *Genoeſe*, laying hold on that Opportunity, had recovered *Specie*. Campaign in *Lombardy* unactive.

BUT the Operations in *Lombardy* began afterwards to grow warm by the Arrival

A. D. 1527. rival of *Lautrech* with Part of the Army in *Piedmont*. That General, not to ſtand idle while he waited for the reſt, in the Beginning of *Auguſt* laid Siege to the Town of *Boſco* in the Territory of *Aleſſandria*, which had a Garriſon of One Thouſand Foot moſt part *Germans*, who defended themſelves with the greateſt Obſtinacy, becauſe *Lautrech*, provok'd at their having killed ſome *Swiſs*, refuſed to accept them if they did not yield themſelves abſolutely to his Diſcretion; and they received frequent Advices and Encouragements from *Lodovico Lodrone*, who had the Care of defending *Aleſſandria*, becauſe his Wife and Children were in *Boſco*. At laſt, being annoyed Night and Day with Artillery, and apprehenſive of Mines, after enduring ſuch great Fatigues for ten Days, they ſubmitted to *Lautrech*'s Diſpoſal, who made the Officers Priſoners, and ſpared the Lives of the Soldiers, but on condition that the *Spaniards* returned to *Spain* by the Way of *France*, and the *Germans* to *Germany* through the Country of the *Swiſs*, and that each Man, according to the Cuſtom of military Oſtentation, ſhould march out

Lautrech arrives in *Piedmont*.

Takes *Boſco*.

out of *Boſco* without Arms, and with a Stick in his Hand; but he freely reſtored to Count *Lodovico* his Wife and Children A. D. 1527.

THIS Acquiſition was followed by proſperous Succeſs in the Affairs of *Genoa:* For five Ships, four of them laden with Corn, and the other with Merchandiſe, being arrived at *Portoſ* . bound for *Genoa*, from whence nine Gallies were ſailed in order to convoy them ſafe into that Port, it happened that, on advice of the Approach of *Ceſare Fregoſo* with Two Thouſand Men to *Genoa* by Land, almoſt all the Men in *Portofino* retired to that City, abandoning the Fleet. This gave an Opportunity to *Andrea Doria* to block them up with his Gallies in the ſame Port, where the *Genoeſe*, knowing themſelves unable to reſiſt, diſarmed the Gallies, and put the Men aſhore; ſo that of the nine Gallies, one being burnt, eight fell into the Hands of the Enemy, together with the Ships laden with Corn, and the Caraque *Giuſtiniana*, bound from the *Levant*, and ſaid to be worth One Hundred Thouſand Ducats. At this Exploit were alſo aſſiſtant ſome

A. D. 1527. other *French* Gallies, which, having before taken five Ships laden with Corn, and bound for *Genoa*, had afterwards caſt Anchor behind *Codemonte*, between *Portofino* and *Genoa*; and about this time ſome Foot, liſted by the *Adorni* to be put into *Genoa*, were routed at *Priacroce*, a Place ſituated among thoſe Mountains. This Misfortune, added to ſo many other Loſſes of ſeveral Veſſels, deprived the *Genoeſe*, reduced to the laſt Extremity, of all Hopes of ſupporting themſelves any longer, tho' about the ſame time *Ceſare Fregoſo*, who had approached to *San Pietro della Rena*, had been forced to retire. But being more afraid of Famine than of the Forces of the Enemy, and conſtrained by extreme Neceſſity, they ſent Ambaſſadors to *Lautrech* to capitulate. *Antoniotto Adorno*, the Doge, retired into the Caſtelletto; and the Tumults being appeaſed, chiefly by the Means of *Filippino Doria*, who was a Priſoner there, the City returned under the Dominion of the King of *France*, who appointed *Teodoro da Trivulzi* Governor.

French become Maſters of *Genoa*.

Lautrech

Lautrech after this approached *Aleſſandria*, having in his Army a Body of Eight Thouſand *Swiſs*, which continually decreaſed, Ten Thouſand Foot of *Pietro Navarra*, Three Thouſand *Gaſcons*, newly brought into *Italy*, by the Baron *de Bearn*, and Three Thouſand Foot of the Duke of *Milan*. In *Aleſſandria* were Fifteen Hundred Foot, who were much diſheartened by the Loſs of the *Germans* that were in *Boſco*; but Five Hundred Foot with *Alberigo da Belgiojoſo* having afterwards entered the City by the neighbouring Hills, they reſumed Courage, and defended themſelves bravely. But the Battery being redoubled in ſeveral Places by the Arrival of the Artillery in the Army, and of the Troops of the *Venetians*, tho' neither by Land nor by Sea did they furniſh the Quota to which they were obliged, and the Approaches at the ſame time vigorouſly carried on by means of Trenches and Mines, according to the conſtant Manner of *Pietro Navarra* in all Sieges, the Garriſon was conſtrained to ſurrender, with Safety to their Perſons and Effects. A. D. 1527. *Lautrech takes Aleſſandria.*

A. D. 1527. THE Conqueſt of *Aleſſandria*, gave Beginning to ſome Diſputes between the Confederates: For *Lautrech* deſigning to leave Five Hundred Foot in Garriſon, that his Troops might at all Events have a ſufficient Receptacle, and thoſe which were coming from *France* the Conveniency of Aſſembling, and putting themſelves in freſh Order in that City, the Ambaſſador of the Duke of *Milan*, ſuſpecting that this was the Beginning or Firſt-fruits of his Intentions to ſeize on that State for his King, oppoſed it with vehement Words and Proteſts, and the *Venetian* Ambaſſador reſenting it almoſt as much as the other, the Ambaſſador of *England* alſo interpoſing in behalf of the Duke, *Lautrech*, tho' with heavy Indignation, yielded to leave the City free to the Duke of *Milan*: A Step which was perhaps of great Prejudice to that Expedition; for many are of Opinion that *Lautrech* attended with more Negligence to the Acquiſition of *Milan*, either out of Diſpleaſure, or becauſe he would reſerve it for a Time when he could turn it to his own Advantage, without Regard to others.

The City left to the Duke of *Milan*.

AFTER

AFTER the Loſs of *Aleſſandria*, it not being doubted that *Lautrech* would proceed to make an Attempt either on *Milan* or *Pavia*, it was reported that *Antonio da Leva*, who had One Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms, and Five Thouſand *German* and *Spaniſh* Foot, diſtruſting his being able to defend *Milan* with ſo few Troops, and under ſo many Difficulties, thought of retiring to *Pavia*. But conſidering the ſmall Stock of Proviſions in *Pavia*, and that he could not maintain the Army by Extortions in that City, as he had moſt rigorouſly done in *Milan*, he reſolved at laſt to ſtay where he was, and ſent *Lodovico da Belgiojoſo* to take upon him the Defence of *Pavia*, and granted to as many of the *Milaneſe* as were willing to purchaſe it with Money Leave to quit the City. But *Lautrech*, tho' much diminiſhed in *Swiſs*, proceeding forwards took poſſeſſion of *Vigevano*, after which laying a Bridge over the *Teſino*, and paſſing his Army, he took his March towards *Benerola*, a Place four Miles diſtant from *Milan*, making a ſhow as if he intended, as the *Venetians* adviſed him, to lay Siege A. D. 1527.

A. D. 1527. to that City, but in reality reſolved to take ſuch Meaſures as ſhould appear to him moſt eaſy to be put in Execution. But receiving Intelligence, when he was advanced within eight Miles of *Milan*, that *Belgiojoſo* had the Night before detached thither Four Hundred Foot, ſo that there remained but Eight Hundred in *Pavia*, he turned his March, and the next Day, which was the Eighth of *September*, arrived at the Monaſtery of the *Carthuſians*, from whence he marched with great Speed, and ſat down before *Pavia*, to the Succour of which City *Antonio da Leva* having, as ſoon as he underſtood the Reſolution of *Lautrech*, ſent three Colours of Foot, they were debarred from Entrance, ſo that from the ſmall Number of Defendants it appeared impoſſible to make Reſiſtance: And yet *Belgiojoſo*, when the People of the City ſupplicated him to permit them to make a Capitulation, for avoiding the Saccage and Deſtruction of the Place, refuſed to hearken to them. But *Lautrech* having continued his Battering four Days, and beat down ſo much of the Wall that the few Defendants

fendants were insufficient to repair it, at length *Belgiojoso* sent to *Lautrech* a Trumpet, who not being able to speak with him so soon, because he happened to be gone into the Camp of the *Venetians*, the Soldiers approached and entered the Town through the Breaches in the Wall. *Belgiojoso* seeing this opened the Gate, and went forth and surrendered himself to the *French*, by whom he was sent Prisoner to *Genoa*. The City was put to the Sack, and the *French* committed great Cruelties in it for Eight Days together, and set Fire to it in many Places, in Memory of the Overthrow they had received in the Park. *A. D.* 1527. *Pavia* taken and sacked.

After this it was debated whether it was best to undertake the Conquest of *Milan*, or proceed to wards *Rome*. The *Florentines* insisted on marching forward, out of Fear that, if *Lautrech* stopped in *Lombardy*, the Imperial Army would march out of *Rome*, and fall upon their Territories. But they were contradicted by the *Venetians*, and by the Duke of *Milan*, who came on purpose to *Pavia* to sollicit Debate on further Proceedings.

A. D. 1527. the Enterpriſe on *Milan*, repreſenting the fair Opportunity that offered for taking that City, and the great Advantage that would reſult from that Conqueſt to the Enterpriſe on *Naples*. For if *Milan* were taken the Imperialiſts would have no Hopes left of receiving any Succours from *Germany*; but, while that Door remained open, there would be always Reaſon to fear that a numerous Army, coming from that Quarter, would either put *Lautrech* in Danger, or divert him from the Expedition of *Naples*. To this it was anſwered by that General, that he was neceſſitated to march forwards by the Orders of his King, and of the King of *England*, who had ſent him into *Italy* principally for the Deliverance of the Pontiff. To this Reſolution it was ſuppoſed he might be induced by a Suſpicion that, if he acquired the Dutchy of *Milan*, the *Venetians*, reckoning themſelves ſecure from the Danger of *Cæſar*'s Greatneſs, would be negligent in aſſiſting him in the Enterpriſe on the Kingdom of *Naples*. And perhaps a no leſs Motive might be the King's imagining it would be of Service to his Affairs that *Franceſco Sforza* ſhould

ſhould not intirely recover that State, ſo that, having it ſtill in his Power to make an Offer of leaving it in the Hands of *Cæſar*, he might the more eaſily obtain the Deliverance of his Children by way of an Agreement, which was continually negotiated with *Cæſar* by the *French*, *Engliſh*, and *Venetian* Ambaſſadors. *A. D.* 1527.

But many Difficulties aroſe in this Negotiation; for *Cæſar* inſiſted that the Cauſe of *Franceſco Sforza* ſhould be tried at Law, and that, during the Trial, the whole State ſhould be in his Poſſeſſion, promiſing, at all Events, not to appropriate it to himſelf. He demanded that the *Venetians* ſhould pay the Archduke the Remainder of the Two Hundred Thouſand Ducats due to him by the Treaty of *Worms*; this the *Venetian* Ambaſſador did not refuſe, provided the Archduke fulfilled the Articles, and reſtor'd the Places according to Obligation. He demanded that they would either reſtore to their Exiles, according to Agreement, One Hundred Thouſand Ducats, or aſſign them a Revenue of Five Thouſand; That they ſhould pay what

Demands of *Cæſar*.

A. D. 1527. what they ſtood indebted to him for the Confederacy made with him, which he would have to be renewed: That they ſhould reſtore to the Church *Ravenna*, and relinquiſh all that they poſſeſſed in the Dutchy of *Milan*. He demanded of the *Florentines* Thirty Thouſand Ducats for Expences undergone, and Loſſes received by their Non-obſervance. He conſented that the King of *France* ſhould pay the King of *England* for him 450,000 Ducats, for the reſt, amounting with the aforeſaid, to Two Millions, he demanded Hoſtages. He deſired Twelve Gallies of the King of *France* for his Paſſage into *Italy*, but did not inſiſt any farther on Horſe or Foot; and that, as ſoon as the Agreement was ſtipulated, all the *French* Troops ſhould depart out of *Italy*; which the King refuſed, if his Children were not firſt reſtored to him.

Conſtancy of *Cæſar*. THE Loſs of *Aleſſandria* and *Pavia*, which was expected to cauſe *Cæſar* to moderate thoſe Demands, made him, according to his Cuſtom of not yielding to Difficulties, the more pertinacious; ſo that when

when the Auditor of the Chamber came to him on the Fifteenth of *October* from *England* to ſollicit, in that King's Name, the Deliverance of the Pontiff, he anſwered, he had taken Care for that by the General, and that, as to the Agreement, he would neither for Love nor Force alter the Conditions which he had firſt propoſed. But it was underſtood for certain that *Cæſar* was not much inclined to Peace, ſince there were many Reaſons that gave him Encouragement againſt the Power of his Enemies: For he was confident of making Reſiſtance in *Italy* by the Valour of his Army, and by the Facility of defending the Towns; that he could at any time with little Difficulty procure the Paſſage of freſh *German* Foot; that the King of *France* and the *Venetians* were exhauſted by the long Expences, and that their Proviſions, as is cuſtomary in Leagues, were interrupted and diminiſhed. He depended on raiſing Money enough in *Spain*, conſidering that he maintained the War at a much cheaper Rate than his Adverſaries by the Rapines of his Soldiers. He was in Hopes alſo by ſome

A. D. 1527.

Arts

A. D. 1527. Arts to diſunite or render more negligent the Confederates. And, in the laſt place, he promiſed himſelf great Matters from his extraordinary Felicity, confirmed by the Experience of many Years, and prognoſticated to him by innumerable Predictions even from his Childhood.

Proceedings of *Lautrech.* BUT *Lautrech* at this time was ſollicitous that the Fleets, which were to attack either *Sicily* or the Kingdom of *Naples*, ſhould proceed forward. That of the *Venetians*, whoſe Proviſions neither by Land nor Sea were equal to their Obligations, was at *Corfu*, and Sixteen Gallies were required to come and join with *Andrea Doria*, who expected in the *Riviera* of *Genoa Renzo da Ceri*, who was appointed to command the Fleet for that Enterpriſe. *Lautrech* after this ſent back into *France* Four Hundred Lances, and Three Thouſand Foot, and agreed with the *Venetians*, whom he adviſed to reſtore *Ravenna* to the College of Cardinals, and with the Duke of *Milan*, that, in order to defend what had been conquered, they ſhould keep their Troops, with

with whom was *Janus Fregoſo* and Count *Gajazzo*, within a Camp ſtrongly fortified at *Landriano*, a Seat about two Miles diſtant from *Milan*, by the Vicinity of which, the Troops that were in *Milan* being unable to make Excurſions abroad, it would be eaſy, as it was imagined, to defend *Pavia*, *Moncia*, *Biagraſſa*, *Marignano*, *Vigevano*, and *Aleſſandria*. Having ſettled theſe Matters, *Lautrech* with Fifteen Hundred *Swiſs*, as many *Germans*, and Six Thouſand *French* and *Gaſcons*, on the Eighteenth of *October*, paſſed the *Po* over againſt *Caſtel San Giovanni*, with an Intention to wait for the *German* Foot, of which but a ſmall Part was as yet arrived, and another Party of Foot of the ſame Nation, which the King of *France* had ſent to inliſt in the Room of the *Swiſs*, who were in a manner all gone off. From this Place he was neceſſitated to order *Pietro Navarra* to return over the *Po*, with the *Gaſcon* and *Italian* Foot to the Relief of *Biagroſſa*, to which Town, being in the Cuſtody of the Duke of *Milan*, *Antonio da Leva*, underſtanding that it was ill provided, had on the Twenty Eighth

A. D. 1527.

He paſſes the *Po*.

A. D. 1527. Eighth of *October* laid Siege with Four Thouſand Foot, and Six Pieces of Cannon, and having obtained it the ſecond Day by Agreement was preparing to paſs into the *Lomellina* to recover *Vigevano* and *Novara*; but, on Advice of the Coming of *Pietro Navarra* with a greater Force, he returned to *Milan*; ſo that *Navarra* eaſily recovered *Biagraſſa*, which *Franceſco Sforza* took Care to get better provided.

Reaſons of *Lautrech*'s Slowneſs.

Lautrech now manifeſtly appeared to delay on purpoſe his Departure; and tho' he alledged that he had been detained in expectation of the *German* Foot, with a Part of whom *Vaudemont* was at length arrived, and the reſt were expected, and complained of the ſlender Proviſions of the *Venetians* in all reſpects, yet it was doubted that the Expectation of Money from *France* had been the Cauſe. But the true and more cogent Reaſon was that the King, in Hopes of Peace, which was under cloſe Negotiation with *Cæſar*, had given him Orders that, diſſembling this Cauſe, he ſhould proceed ſlowly. Hence

alſo

alſo it proceeded that the King had not been ready to pay his Share of the *Germans* that had been hired in the Room of the *Swiſs*, nor thoſe who were firſt appointed to come with *Vaudemont*. A. D. 1527.

WITH theſe either Neceſſities or Excuſes *Lautrech*, taking up his Quarters in *Piacenza*, while the Army encamped between *Piacenza* and *Parma*, the Difficulties which had obſtructed an Accommodation with the Duke of *Ferrara* were removed. *Lautrech* had, as ſoon as he arrived in *Italy*, earneſtly ſollicited him to enter into the Confederacy; a Step, which on one hand the Duke was deſirous of taking on account of the Affinity propoſed to him with the King of *France*, but on the other retained by the Diſtruſt which he had of the Valour of the *French*, and a Jealouſy that the King at laſt, to recover his Children, would come to an Agreement with *Cæſar*. Intimidated however by the Menaces of *Lautrech* he had demanded that the Affair ſhould be negotiated at *Ferrara*, becauſe in a Buſineſs that ſo nearly concerned him he was willing to have the Manage-

A. D. 1527. Management of it himſelf. Wherefore the Ambaſſadors of all the Confederates repaired to *Ferrara*, as did alſo Cardinal *Cibo* in the Name of the Cardinals aſſembled at *Parma*, where the Duke, induced by the Progreſs of *Lautrech*, after he had endeavoured to convince General *George* and *Andrea di Burgo*, who were very honourably entertained by him at *Ferrara*, of the Neceſſity he was under of coming to an Agreement, at laſt agreed, but on Conditions which demonſtrated either his Induſtry, or his great Knowledge in Negotiation, and that he had not in vain ſollicited to have the Treaty debated in his Preſence, or elſe the great Deſire that the other had to draw him into the Confederacy. He entered into it with an Obligation to pay every Month, for ſix Months ſucceſſively, from Six Thouſand to Ten Thouſand Crowns, according to the Arbitration of the King of *France*, who afterwards ſettled it at Six Thouſand, and to furniſh *Lautrech* with One Hundred Men at Arms paid by himſelf. On the other ſide the Confederates obliged themſelves to protect him and his State; to give him

Duke of *Ferrara* enters into the League.

Co-

Cotignuola, which the *Venetians* had a little before taken from the *Spaniards*, in exchange for the antient and almoſt uninhabited City of *Adria*, which he demanded with Importunity; to cauſe Reſtitution to be made to him of the Palaces which he formerly poſſeſſed in *Venice* and *Florence*; to give him Leave to wreſt from *Alberto Pio* the Fortreſs of *Novi*, ſituate near the Borders of the *Mantouan*, and at that time beſieged by him; to pay him the Revenues of the Archbiſhopric of *Milan*, if the Imperialiſts ſhould be troubleſome, and obſtruct the Payment to the Archbiſhop his Son. Cardinal *Cibo*, in the Name of the Cardinals, who promiſed the Ratification of the College, obliged the Pontiff to renew the Inveſtiture of *Ferrara*, to renounce the Rights to *Modena* acquired by the Purchaſe of it from *Maximilian*; to annul the Obligation of Salts; to conſent to the Protection of the Duke undertaken by the Confederates; to promiſe, by virtue of Apoſtolic Bulls, to leave him and his Succeſſors in free Poſſeſſion of all that he poſſeſſed; and that the Pontiff ſhould make his Son a Cardinal, and confer on A. D. 1527.

A. D. 1527. him the Biſhopric of *Modena*, vacant by the Death of Cardinal *Rangone*. This Confederacy was bound with the Tye of Affinity, by the Marriage of *Renée*, the Daughter of King *Lewis*, to *Ercole*, the Duke's eldeſt Son, with the Dutchy of *Chartres* in Dowry, beſides other honourable Conditions. The Marquis of *Mantoua* alſo, at the Sollicitations of *Lautrech* entered into the Confederacy, tho' he was before in the Service and Pay of *Cæſar*.

As alſo the Marquis of *Mantoua*

BUT the Army of the Confederates was much weakened, and remained many Days unactive between *Foligno*, *Montefalco*, and *Bevagna*: And the Duke of *Urbino*, underſtanding that his Wife and Son were under Cuſtody in *Venice*, ſet out Poſt from the Camp, without Orders from the Senate, in a great Hurry, to go and juſtify himſelf; but, on receiving Advice on the Road of their being ſet at Liberty, and that the Senate, being ſatisfied with him, deſired he would proceed no further, he returned to the Army; where the *Swiſs* and the Marquis's Foot received no Pay, and the *Venetians*, neither here nor in *Lom-*

Situation of the Armies.

Lombardy, where they were obliged to keep Nine Thouſand Foot, ever kept the third Part. The Troops retired afterwards into the Territory of *Todi*, and the adjacent Parts; and the *Spaniards* at the End of *November* lay about *Corneto* and *Toſcanella*, and the *Germans* at *Rome*, whither the Prince of *Orange* was returned from *Siena*, where he had ſpent a ſhort time in fruitleſs Endeavours to reſtore Order to that Government. And it is not doubted that, if the Imperial Army had made a Motion forwards, the Duke of *Urbino*, and the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, would have retired with the Army under the Walls of *Florence*, tho' they uſed to talk in a boaſting manner that, in order to ſtop their Paſſage into *Tuſcany*, they would poſt themſelves either in *Orvieto* and *Viterbo*, or in the Territory of *Siena* towards *Chiuſi* and *Sartiano*. A. D. 1527.

BUT *Lautrech*, though the *German* Foot were now arrived, proceeding, on account of the Expectations from the Treaty of Peace, with his uſual Slowneſs, had taken up his Reſidence in *Parma*. And *Lautrech's* Projects.

A. D. 1527. yet, tho' that City and *Piacenza* with their Citadels were wholly at his Devotion, and he had collected from both theſe Cities and their Territories about Fifty Thouſand Ducats, it was believed that he had a Deſign not only to keep in his Power *Parma* and *Piacenza*, but, in order to render *Bologna* dependent on the King's Authority, to transfer the Lordſhip of that City into the Family of the *Pepoli*.

THESE Deſigns however were rendered abortive by the Deliverance of the Pontiff, to which tho' it did not at firſt appear that *Cæſar* would readily condeſcend, becauſe he had delayed, above a Month after the News of his Captivity, to take any Reſolution about it, yet, appriſed afterwards of the Arrival of *Lautrech* in *Italy*, and the Eagerneſs of the King of *England* for a War, he had diſpatched the General of the *Franciſcans*, and *Veri di Migliau* with Orders on that Head to the Viceroy; who dying at *Gaetà* about the time that the General arrived, it was neceſſary to treat of the Affair with Don *Ugo di Moncada*, to whom alſo extended the Commiſſion of *Cæſar*,

Cæſar, and whom the Viceroy had ſubſtituted in his Room, till a new Appointment to the Adminiſtration of the Kingdom of *Naples* came from *Spain*. The General, after conferring with Don *Ugo*, took his Way to *Rome*, accompanied by *Migliau*, who had come from *Spain* with the ſame Commiſſion as the General. This Affair comprehended two principal Articles; one, that the Pontiff ſhould ſatisfy the Army in a Debt of a very large Sum of Money; the other concerned the Security of *Cæſar*, that the Pontiff, when ſet at Liberty, might not fall off and adhere to his Enemies: And, for the Obſervance of this Article were propoſed hard Conditions of Hoſtages, and of Security of Towns. By thoſe Difficulties the Debate was prolonged, and to facilitate it the Pontiff had often ſollicited, and was now continually, tho privately, ſolliciting *Lautrech* to advance forwards, declaring that it was his Intention to promiſe nothing to the Imperialiſts, unleſs forced; and that, in ſuch a Caſe, when he was once out of Priſon, he would obſerve nothing as ſoon as he could convey himſelf into a Place of Security, which he would endeavour to accompliſh as little to

A. D. 1527.

Debate on releaſing the Pontiff

A. D. 1527. their Convenience as poſſible; and, if he ſhould come to an Agreement, he begged that Compaſſion on his Misfortunes and Neceſſities might make his Excuſe. But, while theſe Things were under Debate, the Hoſtages at the End of *November* fled ſecretly out of *Rome*, to the vaſt Indignation of the *Germans*.

Pope's Enemies.

TEDIOUS were the Diſputes on this Affair, thoſe whoſe Buſineſs it was to determine them not agreeing in the ſame Opinion: For Don *Ugo*, though he had ſent *Serenon* his Secretary, in company with others, to *Rome*, yet, out of the Malignity of his Nature, and his Averſion to the Pontiff, had but little Inclination to a Compoſition; on the contrary, the General was eager for it, from a Deſire of being made a Cardinal. *Migliau* oppoſed it as pernicious to *Cæſar*'s Intereſt, and when he could not prevail went away for *Naples*, where he afterwards ſuffered the Puniſhment of his Impiety, being killed in a Skirmiſh at the Beginning of the Siege with a Shot of a Harquebus.

NOR

A. D. 1527.

NOR was the Pontiff wanting to himſelf, for he drew over to his Intereſt *Geronimo Morone*, whoſe Counſel was of great Authority with the Imperialiſts in all Deliberations, conferring the Biſhopric of *Modena* on his Son, and promiſing him certain Stores of Corn which he had at *Corneto*, worth above Twelve Thouſand Ducats. But he was no leſs induſtrious in gaining the Favour of Cardinal *Colonna*, promiſing him the Legateſhip of the *Marca*, and profeſſing to him, when, after his Arrival at *Rome*, he came to pay him a Viſit in the Caſtle, that he deſired to be principally obliged to him for ſo great a Benefit; artfully alſo inſtilling into his Ears a Notion that he could not wiſh for greater Glory, or greater Felicity, than to make it known to all the World, that it was in his Power to depreſs Pontiffs, and in his Power, when they were humbled to the Duſt, to raiſe them, and reſtore them to their priſtine Grandeur. This Cardinal, who was very lofty and vainglorious by Nature, moved by ſuch Inſinuations and Profeſſions, readily promoted the Releaſe-

He makes Friends.

A. D. 1527. ment, imagining that it was as eaſy for the Pontiff, when ſet at Liberty, to forget ſo many Injuries, as it had been, when a Priſoner, moſt humbly to recommend to him with Prayers and Tears his Deliverance.

Reaſons for his Deliverance.

THESE Difficulties were in ſome meaſure removed by the new Commiſſion from *Cæſar*, who gave poſitive Orders that the Pontiff ſhould be releaſed as much to his Satisfaction as poſſible; adding that it was ſufficient for him if the Pontiff, after his Deliverance, did not adhere leſs to him than to the Confederates. But it is believed that no other Conſideration ſo much promoted the Affair as the Neceſſity incumbent on the Generals, from the Apprehenſions of the Coming of *Lautrech*, to lead that Army to the Defence of the Kingdom of *Naples*: A Thing impoſſible if the Troops were not firſt ſecured of their Arrears, in recompenſe of which they would not admit ſo much Plunder, and ſuch great Gains as they had made in the ſame Time; this Neceſſity of providing for the Payments was alſo the Reaſon why leſs Care

Care was taken to have Security of the Pontiff for the Time to come. A. D. 1527.

At length after a long Negotiation, on the laſt Day of *October*, the Agreement was concluded in *Rome*, with the General of the *Franciſcans*, and with *Serenon* in the Name of Don *Ugo*, who afterwards ratified it. The Pope, by this Convention, was to take no Part againſt *Cæſar* in the Affair of *Milan* and *Naples*: He was to grant him the Croiſade in *Spain*, and a Tenth of the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues in all his Kingdoms: For ſecuring of his Obſervance *Oſtia*, and *Civita vecchia*, which City *Andrea Doria* had before evacuated, were to remain in the Hands of *Cæſar*; to whom alſo he was to reſign *Civita Caſtellana*, which Town, *Mario Peruſco*, the Chancellor of the Exchequer*, being entered into the Citadel, by very ſecret Orders of the Pontiff, tho' he pretended the contrary, had refuſed to admit the Imperialiſts; he was to reſign alſo the Citadel of *Forli*: For Hoſtages he was to deliver *Ippolito* and *Aleſſandro* his Nephews, and till they came from *Parma*, the Cardinals *Piſano*, *Trivulzio*, He is ſet at Liberty

* *Procuratore Fiſcale.*

A. D. 1527. *vulzio*, and *Gaddi*, who were conducted by the Soldiers into the Kingdom of *Naples*: He was obliged to pay immediately to the *Germans* Seventy Seven Thouſand Ducats, and to the *Spaniards* Thirty-five Thouſand, on condition that they would leave him at Liberty with all the Cardinals, and march out of *Rome* and out of the Caſtle; deeming himſelf at Liberty whenever he ſhould be conducted in Safety to *Orvieto*, *Spoleto*, or *Perugia*: Within a Fortnight after his Departure from *Rome* he was to pay another like Sum to the *Germans*, and the reſt, which, with the aforeſaid Sum, amounted to above Three Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Ducats, he was to pay, within three Months after, to the *Germans* and *Spaniards* according to their reſpective Shares.

Pope's Ways of raiſing Money.

For Obſervance of theſe Conditions the Pontiff, having recourſe to thoſe Means for his coming out of Priſon which he could not be induced to employ for preventing his Entrance into it, created ſome Cardinals for Money, Perſons for the moſt part unworthy of ſo great an Honour. For further

further Supplies he granted the Tenths in the Kingdom of *Naples*, with Power to alienate the Goods of the Church; what was dedicated to the Worſhip of God being converted, by Grant from the Vicar of Chriſt, ſo deep are the Divine Judgments! to the Uſe and Maintenance of Heretics. By ſuch Means having ſettled and ſecured the Payments at the promiſed Terms, he gave alſo as Hoſtages for the Security of the Soldiers the Cardinals *Ceſis* and *Orſino*, who were conducted by Cardinal *Colonna* to *Grottaferrata*. A. D. 1527.

THE Pontiff having diſpatched all theſe Affairs, and the Ninth Day of *December* being appointed for the *Spaniards* to conduct him into a Place of Security, apprehenſive of ſome Variation on account of the ill Will which he knew Don *Ugo* bore towards him, and of every other Accident that might poſſibly intervene, in the Night before, as ſoon as it was dark, ſecretly went out of the Caſtle in the Habit of a Merchant, and was by *Luigi da Gonzaga*, in the Service of the Imperialiſts, who with a large Company of Harquebuſiers

Gets privately out of the Caſtle.

A D. 1527. fiers waited for him in the Meadows, accompanied as far as *Montefiaſcone*, where diſmiſſing almoſt all the Soldiers *Luigi* himſelf attended him to *Orvieto*, into which City he entered by Night, not one of the Cardinals accompanying him. An Example certainly very remarkable, and perhaps ſuch as had never been ſeen ſince the Church became great: A Pontiff fallen from ſo great a Height of Power and Reverence, confined in a Priſon, *Rome* loſt, and all the State of the Church reduced under the Power of Strangers; the ſame Pontiff in the Space of a few Months reſtored to Liberty, the State that had been ſeized left free to him, and in a very ſhort Time after reſuming his former Grandeur. So great with Chriſtian Princes is the Authority of the Pontificate, and the Reſpect univerſally paid it!

Proceedings in the *Milaneſe*.

AT this Time *Antonio da Leva* ſent out of *Milan* the *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Foot to provide themſelves with Victuals, and to recover the weaker Places of the Country, and that they might alſo open a convenient Way for the Conveyance of Proviſions

viſions to *Milan*; theſe Troops poſſeſſed themſelves of that Part of the Territory of *Milan* which is called *Sepri*. He alſo ordered out *Filippo Torniello* with Twelve Hundred Foot, and ſome Horſe for *Novara*, in which City were Four Hundred Foot of the Duke of *Milan*. *Torniello* entered the Town through the Caſtle, which had always held out for *Cæſar*, made himſelf Maſter of it with little Oppoſition, diſarmed the Foot, and ſent them back to their Habitations, and remained himſelf in *Novara* for ſcouring the circumjacent Country. Part of the *German* Foot were beſtowed in *Arona*, and the reſt in *Mortara*, and the Duke having reinforced them with ſome other Foot, for the Defence of the *Lomellina*, and of the Country, *Torniello* was not at Liberty to extend his Quarters to any conſiderable Diſtance, ſo that no Actions happened that Winter but frequent Skirmiſhes, all Parties employing themſelves in robbing their Friends as well as Enemies, to the utter Deſolation of the whole Country. A. D. 1527.

ABOUT

A. D. 1527.

ABOUT this Time alſo *Andrea Doria*, with his own and fourteen *French* Gallies, joined ſixteen Gallies of the *Venetians* at *Livorno*, and, having taken on board *Renzo da Ceri* with Three Thouſand Foot in order to make a Deſcent, on the Thirteenth of *November* ſet ſail from that Port. And tho' it had at firſt been reſolved to attack the Iſland of *Sicily*, they altered their Reſolution, and ſteered away for *Sardinia*, with a Deſign to make an Attempt on that Iſland, induced, as it was ſuppoſed, by the Perſuaſions of *Andrea Doria*, whoſe Brain was perhaps teeming with new Projects; and *Lautrech* conſented to this Enterpriſe in hopes that the Conqueſt of *Sardinia* would greatly facilitate the Acquiſition of *Sicily*. Whatever was the Cauſe, the Gallies met with very tempeſtuous Weather, and were diſperſed over the Sea. One of the *French* Gallies was caſt away near the Coaſt of *Sardinia*; four Gallies of the *Venetians*, much diſtreſſed, returned to *Livorno*; the *French* Gallies were driven by the Violence of the Winds into *Corſica*, from whence they afterwards joined four *Venetian* Gallies

Confederates Fleet diſperſed by a Storm.

lies in *Porto Vecchio*, the other Eight of the *Venetians* in a ſhattered Condition putting back into *Livorno*. At laſt the Undertaking was laid aſide, great Differences remaining between *Andrea Doria* and *Renzo da Ceri*. A. D. 1527.

BUT *Lautrech*, who, when he was in *Reggio*, received Advice of the Releaſement of the Pontiff, left the Citadel of *Parma* to the Eccleſiaſtic Officers, and proceeded to *Bologna*. In this City he ſtopped in Expectation of the laſt *German* Foot, who in five Days after arrived in the *Bologneſe*, not in Number Six Thouſand, as had been deſigned, but only Three Thouſand. He ſojourned however twenty Days in *Bologna*, waiting Advice from the King of *France* of the ultimate Reſolution on the Negotiation of Peace, and in the mean time ſolliciting with utmoſt Earneſtneſs the Pontiff, ſeconded alſo by the Authority of the King of *England*, to declare openly for the Confederates. *Lautrech* proceeds to *Bologna*.

THE Pontiff, a few Days after his Arrival at *Orvieto*, was viſited and congratulated Pope's Proceedings at *Orvieto*.

A. D. 1527. lated by the Duke of *Urbino*, the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, *Federigo da Bozzolo*, who died a few Days after a natural Death at *Todi*, and *Luigi Piſano*, the *Venetian* Proveditor, and had requeſted them with the greateſt Inſtances to remove their Troops from the Eccleſiaſtic State, aſſuring them that the Imperialiſts had promiſed him to evacuate the State of the Church, provided the Army of the Confederates would do the ſame. He had written alſo a Brief to *Lautrech*, thanking him for the Services he had done towards his Deliverance, and for adviſing him to get himſelf releaſed at any Rate; acknowledging that theſe Services had been of ſo great Moment to conſtrain the Imperialiſts to come to a Determination, that he pretended himſelf no leſs obliged to the King and to him than if he had been delivered by their Arms, the Progreſs of which he would willingly have expected, had he not been bound by Neceſſity, becauſe the Conditions propoſed to him were continually altered for the worſe, and becauſe he was plainly convinced there was no other Way to obtain his Liberty but by means of an Agreement, which

which the more he deferred, the more the Authority and State of the Church went to Ruin; but what above all moved him, was the Hopes that he ſhould be ſo happy as to become a ſeaſonable Inſtrument for promoting the common Good with his King, and the other Chriſtian Princes. Theſe were at firſt his Expreſſions, which ſeemed full of Sincerity and Simplicity, and ſuch as were becoming the Pontifical Office, and eſpecially a Pontiff who had received ſuch grave and ſevere Admonitions from God. *A. D.* 1527.

RETAINING however his accuſtomed Nature, and his Priſon not having taught him to diveſt himſelf of his Craftineſs nor Covetouſneſs, on the Arrival, in the Beginning of the Year 1528, of ſome Agents diſpatched by *Lautrech* and *Gregorio da Caſale*, Ambaſſador of the King of *England*, to require him to confederate with the others, he began to amuſe them with various Anſwers, ſometimes giving them Hopes, ſometimes excuſing himſelf, and proteſting that, having neither Money, nor Men, nor Authority, his Declaration 1528. His crafty and evaſive Anſwers.

A. D. 1528. could be of no Service to them, and yet might be prejudicial to himſelf, ſince it would give Cauſe to the Imperialiſts to moleſt him in many Places; ſometimes giving Hopes that he ſhould be willing to ſatisfy their Demand, if *Lautrech* proceeded forwards; which he greatly wanted, that the *Germans* might be neceſſitated to depart from *Rome*, where they lay conſuming the Reliques of that wretched City, and all the circumjacent Country, and having caſt off all Obedience to their Officers, and often engaged in Tumults among themſelves, refuſed to leave the Place, demanding more Money and Payments.

But at the End of the preceding Year, and much more in the Beginning of this, it began manifeſtly to appear that the Negotiations of Peace would be fruitleſs, and that the Animoſities between the Princes were the more exaſperated by them. For, when almoſt all Difficulties were removed, ſince *Cæſar* did not refuſe the Dutchy of *Milan* to *Franceſco Sforza*, and to compound with the *Venetians*, *Florentines*;

rentines, and the reſt of the Confederates, the only Diſpute was, which ought firſt to be put in Execution, either the Departure of the Army of the King of *France* out of *Italy*, or the Reſtitution of the Children. The King denied to oblige himſelf to remove the Army from *Italy* before he had recovered his Children, but he offered to put Hoſtages into the Hands of the King of *England*, for Security of the Obſervance of the Penalties to which he obliged himſelf, if he did not, immediately after the Recovery of the Children, recal the Army. *Cæſar* inſiſted on the contrary, offering the ſame Cautions in the Hands of the King of *England*; and it being diſputed which had moſt Reaſon to truſt the other, *Cæſar* ſaid he could put no Truſt in a Perſon wha had once deceived him; to which it was anſwered, by the *French* Ambaſſadors, that the more he pretended himſelf deceived by the King of *France*, the leſs Reaſon had the King of *France* to put any Truſt in him; nor was the Offer of *Cæſar* to put the ſame Security in the Hands of the King of *England* which the King of *France*

A. D. 1528.

Great and ſole Difficulty preventing Peace.

A. D. 1528. offered to put an equal Offer, becauſe it was not alſo an equal Caſe, ſince what *Cæſar* promiſed to do was of ſo much greater Moment that what the King of *France* promiſed, and therefore required a greater Security. They added, in the laſt place, that the Ambaſſadors of the King of *England*, who had a Commiſſion from their King to oblige him to enforce the Obſervance of what the King of *France* promiſed, had no Commiſſion to oblige him for the Obſervance of what *Cæſar* might promiſe; and that their Powers being limited, and their Time prefixed, they could neither exceed nor wait. On this Diſpute there was no coming to a Reſolution, becauſe *Cæſar* had not the ſame Inclination to Peace that his Council had, perſuading himſelf that if he ſhould loſe *Naples* he might have it back again by the Reſtitution of the Children; and the Great Chancellor, who was long before returned into *Spain*, was ſtrongly charged with perplexing the Negotiations of Peace with Points of Law, and ſophiſtical Interpretations.

A. D. 1528.

AT laſt the *French* and *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors reſolved, purſuant to the Orders which they had in caſe of Deſpair of an Agreement, to demand of *Cæſar* Leave to depart, and after that immediately to denounce War. With this Reſolution on the Twenty-firſt of *January* the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, followed by the Ambaſſadors of the *Venetians*, of the Duke of *Milan*, and of the *Florentines*, appeared before *Cæſar* then reſiding with the Court at *Burgos*; and the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors demanded of him the Four Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Ducats lent him by their King, Six Hundred Thouſand for the Penalty he had incurred by the Repudiation of the Daughter of *England*, and Five Hundred Thouſand for the Penſions of the King of *France*, and other Pretences. Theſe things being propoſed for the greater Juſtification, all the Ambaſſadors of the Allies demanded his Leave to depart. To this he anſwered, that he would conſult with his Council what was fit to be done, but it was neceſſary that, before their Departure, his own Ambaſſadors alſo

A. D. 1528. ſhould be in a Place of Security. The Ambaſſadors were no ſooner gone out than the Heralds of the King of *France* and of the King of *England* entered, and made a Declaration of War. *Cæſar* accepted it with a joyful Heart, and then ordered that the Ambaſſadors of the King of *France*, of the *Venetians*, and of the *Florentines* ſhould be conducted to a Country Seat thirty Miles from Court, where they were put under a Guard of Archers and Halberdiers, and forbidden all Correſpondence and the Liberty of Writing; to the Ambaſſador of the Duke of *Milan* he gave Orders, as to his Subject, not to leave the Court; as to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador no Innovation was made.

France and England declare War againſt Cæſar.

ALL Negotiations of Peace being thus broken off, the Parties breathed nothing but War, which had its Seat and Management ſolely in *Italy*. Here *Lautrech*, then, ſtimulated by his King, but much more by the King of *England*, after the Hopes of Peace began to diminiſh, had, on the Ninth of *January*, ſet out from *Bologna*, and directed his March towards the Kingdom of

Lautrech proceeds for Naples

of *Naples*, by the Way of *Romagna* and the *Marca*; a Way choſen by him after much Conſultation, contrary to the Inſtances of the Pontiff, who was deſirous to take the Opportunity of his Paſſage for re-eſtabliſhing *Fabio Petrucci*, and the *Monte de' Nove* in *Siena*; and alſo to the Sollicitations of the *Florentines*, who intreated him to take that Road, that his Army might be more at hand to ſuccour them, if the Imperialiſts, in order to make a Diverſion, ſhould put themſelves in Motion to invade *Tuſcany*. But *Lautrech* choſe rather to enter the Kingdom of *Naples* by the Way of the *Tronto*, becauſe it was a Road more convenient for Conveyance of the Artillery, and abounded more with Proviſions, and becauſe he would not give an Opportunity to the Enemy to make Head at *Siena*, or in any other Place, being deſirous to enter the Kingdom of *Naples* before he met with any Obſtacle. A. D. 1528.

Affairs of the Pope.

BUT, as ſoon as *Lautrech* moved from *Bologna*, *Giovanni da Saſſatello* reſtored the Caſtle of *Imola* to the Pontiff, which

A. D. 1528. he had ſeized while he was a Priſoner; and, when *Lautrech* afterwards approached *Rimini*, *Sigiſmondo Malateſta*, Son of *Pandolfo*, agreed with him to reſtore that City to the Pontiff, on condition that he obliged himſelf to let his Mother enjoy her Dowry, to give his unmarried Siſter Six Thouſand Ducats, and to aſſign a yearly Revenue of Two Thouſand Ducats between him and his Father; and that *Sigiſmondo* ſhould immediately depart out of *Rimini*, leaving his Father there, till the Pontiff had ratified the Agreement; and that, in the mean time, the Caſtle ſhould remain in the Hands of *Guido Rangone*, his Captain, who entered into Pay with the King of *France*, and followed *Lautrech* to the War. But the Pontiff delaying to fulfil theſe Engagement, *Sigiſmondo* repoſſeſſed himſelf again of the Caſtle, not without grievous Complaints of the Pontiff againſt *Guido Rangone*, as if he had given him tacit Permiſſion, nor without ſome Suſpicion alſo that *Lautrech* and the *Venetians* had conſented to it, as deſirous to keep him under continual Difficulties; the *Venetians*, in particular, on account of *Ravenna*,

Reaſons for his Jealouſy of *Lautrech* and the *Venetians*.

venna, which the Pontiff having, as ſoon as he was delivered from the Caſtle, ſent the Archbiſhop of *Siponte* to demand of that Senate, had received a general Anſwer, in which they referred themſelves to what *Gaſparo Contareno*, whom they had appointed Ambaſſador to him, ſhould declare to him on that Subject. For, thó' they had at firſt proteſted that they retained it for the Apoſtolic See, yet they were quite averſe to reſtoring it, induced as well by public as private Intereſt, ſince that City lay very convenient for enlarging their Empire in *Romagna*, abounded itſelf in Corn, and by the Fertility of the neighbouring Country afforded Opportunities for exporting yearly vaſt Quantities for *Venice*, and many of the *Venetians* had large Eſtates in that Territory. As to *Lautrech*, he entertained ſome Jealouſy of him, becauſe that General, beſides uſing many Sollicitations before, having, ſince his Departure from *Bologna*, diſpatched to him *Vaudemont*, Captain General of all the *German* Foot, together with *Longueville* commiſſioned by the King, to make very cloſe Inſtances with him

A. D. 1528.

A. D. 1528. him to declare againſt *Cæſar*, eſpecially ſince he could now do it with Security, by the Approach of the *French* Army, had not been able to prevail with him, the Pontiff not expreſly denying, but delaying, and making Excuſes. On this Occaſion he had offered the King of *France* to give his Conſent, on condition that the *Venetians* would reſtore to him *Ravenna*; a Condition which he knew well could take no Effect, as the *Venetians* were not to be induced to it by the Perſuaſions of the King, and it did not ſuit with the Times for the King to provoke the Enmity of the *Venetians* to ſatisfy the Pontiff. To this was added his Refuſal alſo to give Ear to the Sollicitations of *Lautrech* for his ratifying the Agreement made with the Duke of *Ferrara*, alledging that it was a Thing very unworthy to give his Approbation, when he was alive, to Conventions made in his Name while he was dead; he would not however refuſe to make an Agreement with him. Hence the Duke of *Ferrara*, taking that Occaſion, made a Difficulty, though he was received into the Protection of the King

of

of *France* and the *Venetians*, of ſending to *Lautrech* the Hundred Men at Arms, and paying the Money he had promiſed, as one, who, doubting the Iſſue of Affairs, was careful not to adhere ſo cloſely to the King of *France*, as to leave himſelf no Room at all Events to make his Peace with *Cæſar*, to whom he had excuſed himſelf from his Neceſſities, and continued to entertain *George Fronſperg*, and *Andrea di Burgo* at *Ferrara*. A. D. 1528.

THIS however did not prevent *Lautrech* from proceeding with the Army, with which, on the Tenth of *February*, he arrived at the River *Tronto*, which ſeparates the Eccleſiaſtic State from the Kingdom of *Naples*. *Lautrech* arrives on the Frontiers of *Naples*.

BUT in *France*, when the King was informed that his Ambaſſador was detained, he ordered the Ambaſſador of *Cæſar* to be confined in the Chatelet of *Paris*, and all the Merchants that were Subjects of *Cæſar* throughout *France* to be detained. The ſame was done by the King of *England* with reſpect to *Cæſar*'s Ambaſſador, *Cæſar*'s Ambaſſador detained in *France*.

A. D. 1528. dor, but as ſoon as he underſtood his own was not detained he ſet him at Liberty.

Kings debate on the Seat of War.

Now the War being proclaimed in *France*, *England*, and *Spain*, the King of *France* inſiſted on beginning a War jointly in *Flanders*, as a Prelude to which he had made Incurſions into that Country with ſome of his Troops, and carried off Spoils, the People of *Flanders* making no Movement on that account, but only to defend themſelves, becauſe Lady *Margaret*, endeavouring to avoid as much as poſſible all Occaſions of entering into a War with the King of *France*, did not ſuffer her Men to march out of their Country. But the King of *England* was very loth to have War with the People of *Flanders*; for, tho' certain Towns, before promiſed him by *Cæſar* as Security for Money lent, were, as ſoon as they ſhould be conquered, to be reſigned to him, yet it would be very prejudicial to his Revenues, and to his Kingdom, to interrupt the Commerce of his Merchants in that Province; but not knowing how openly to refuſe it, on account of the Convention, he deferred

it

it as long as he could, alledging that, by the Articles of that Obligation, it was lawful for him to delay Forty Days after the Declaration of War, in order to give the Merchants Time to withdraw with their Effects. The Moſt Chriſtian King knowing this was his Will, and the Occaſion of it, treated with him about attacking, inſtead of *Flanders*, the maritime Parts of *Spain* with a good Fleet, the King of *France* affirming that he held Intelligence with thoſe People. A. D. 1528.

THESE Debates at laſt occaſioned the King of *England* to ſend the Biſhop of *Bath* into *France*, to perſuade that King to lay aſide all Enterpriſes beyond the Mountains, and to increaſe his Forces, and puſh on the War in *Italy*; by whoſe Counſel and Encouragements it came to paſs that, for the Space of the Eight enſuing Months, Hoſtilities were ſuſpended between the Kings of *France* and *England*, and the Country of *Flanders*, with the other circumjacent States ſubject to *Cæſar*. That the King of *France* might the more eaſily condeſcend to this Agreement, the

King

A. D. 1528. King of *England* obliged himſelf to pay Thirty Thouſand Ducats, every Month, for the War in *Italy*, by which was ſatisfied the Contribution before promiſed for Six Months.

Italy deſtined the ſole Seat of the War.

BUT as the Preparations for War were thus continually increaſing, ſo likewiſe were the Animoſities more and more kindled between the Princes, who took all Occaſions to affront one another, and to contend no leſs in Spirit and Emulation than with Arms. For *Cæſar* having about two Years before in *Granada*, at the Time when Peace was in like manner treated of between him and the King of *France*, ſaid to the Preſident of *Grenoble*, the King's Ambaſſador, certain Words, which imported that, in order to prevent Chriſtian People and ſo many innocent Perſons from ſuffering any longer under the bad Effects of their Differences, he would freely decide the Controverſy with him by ſingle Combat; and ſince that repeated to the Herald, when he had laſt denounced the War to him the ſame Words, adding moreover that his King had behaved ſcurvily,

vily, and been falſe to his Word; the King of *France* being informed of the Expreſſions, and imagining he could not paſs them over in Silence with Safety to his Honour, though the Challenge would perhaps have been more becoming between ſimple Knights than between two ſuch Princes, convoked, on the Twenty-ſeventh of *March*, in a very large Hall of his Palace at *Paris*, all the Great Men, all the Ambaſſadors, and the whole Court; after which, preſenting himſelf to the Aſſembly in all the Pomp and Splendor of the moſt ſumptuous Apparel, and attended with a glittering Train, he went and placed himſelf in the Royal Seat, and ordered the Ambaſſador of *Cæſar* to be called, who, becauſe it had been determined that he ſhould be conducted to *Bayonne*, and ſet at Liberty at the ſame time with the Ambaſſadors of the Confederates, who for that Purpoſe were on their way to *Bayonne*, demanded his Diſmiſſion. The King ſpoke, excuſing himſelf by alledging that *Cæſar* having, by a new and barbarous Example, detained his Ambaſſadors and thoſe of his Confederates, had been the principal Cauſe

A. D. 1528.

that

A. D. 1528 that he had been alſo detained. But ſince he was now to go to *Bayonne*, that Liberty might be given to all at the ſame Time, he deſired him to carry to *Cæſar* a Letter of his, and to deliver from him alſo a Meſſage, importing that whereas *Cæſar* had ſaid to the Herald that he had broken his Word, he had ſaid what was falſe, and that he lyed every Time that he repeated it; and that, inſtead of an Anſwer, for a ſpeedy Determination of their Differences, he defied him to meet him in the Field, where they two might decide the Quarrel in ſingle Combat: And the Ambaſſador refuſing to carry either the Letter or the Meſſage, he added that he would cauſe the ſame to be ſignified by a Herald, and that, though he knew alſo that his Maſter had ſpoken Words reflecting on the Honour of his Brother the King of *England*, he did not mention it, becauſe he knew that King was ſufficient to defend it, but if he ſhould be prevented by any bodily Indiſpoſition, he offered to expoſe his own Perſon for him. The ſame Defiance was made a few Days after, with the ſame Solemnity and Ceremonies, by the

Francis gives the Lye, and a Challenge to *Cæſar*.

the King of *England*. It was not however reputed much for the Honour of the Chriſtian Princes, engaged in a War of ſuch Importance, and ſo prejudicial to all Chriſtendom, to involve themſelves alſo in perſonal Quarrels. *A. D.* 1528.

King of *England* challenges *Cæſar*.

So great an Ardor for War and Arms did not however divert the King of *England* from his amorous Cares, which, having once begun to fill his Breaſt with lawleſs Paſſion, broke out at laſt into utmoſt Cruelty, and horrid and unexampled Wickedneſſes, to the very great and eternal Diſhonour of his Name, who, having obtained of *Leo* the Title of *Defender of the Faith*, by ſhewing himſelf very obſervant of the Apoſtolic See, and cauſing a Book to be written in his Name againſt the Impiety and poiſonous Hereſy of *Martin Luther*, now acquired the Title of an impious Oppoſer and Perſecutor of the Chriſtian Religion.

His Amours cenſured.

THE King of *England* had for his Wife *Catharine*, Daughter of the late *Ferdinando* and *Elizabeth* Sovereigns of *Spain*:

Seeks a Divorce from his Queen *Catharine*

A. D. 1528. *Spain:* A Queen certainly worthy of ſuch Parents, and for her Virtues and Prudence highly beloved and reſpected by all that Kingdom. She had been before married, while his Father *Henry* was alive, to his eldeſt Brother *Arthur*, and, after ſhe had bedded with him, being left a Widow by the untimely Death of a Huſband, was, by common Conſent of the Father and Father-in-law, married to *Henry* the younger Brother, after firſt obtaining a Diſpenſation from Pope *Julius* for the Impediment of ſo near an Affinity. The Fruits of this Matrimony were only a Son, who was ſoon ſnatched away by an untimely Death, and a Daughter; which gave Occaſion to many in the Court to murmur that, becauſe it was an unlawful Marriage, and indiſpenſable in the firſt Degree, the Parties had been miraculouſly deprived of male Iſſue. The Cardinal of *York* taking his Opportunity from this Diſcontent, and from the Deſire which he knew the King had of Sons, began to perſuade the King to divorce his firſt Wife, who was not in juſtice his Wife, and contract Matrimony with another; moved not by Conſcience, or merely by a Deſire that the King ſhould have

have male Succeſſors, but by a Perſuaſion that he could induce the King to eſpouſe *Renée* the Daughter of King *Lewis*, of which he was extremely deſirous, becauſe, knowing that he was hated by the whole Kingdom, he wanted to be prepared againſt whatever might happen, both during the Life, and after the Death of the King; incited alſo by the great Hatred which he had conceived againſt *Cæſar*, becauſe he did not ſatisfy his extravagant Pride neither with Appearances nor with Effects; and he did not doubt but that, by the great Authority which the King and He had with the Pontiff, he ſhould obtain of him a Power to make the Divorce valid in Law. *A. D.* 1528.

THE King gave Ear to this Counſel not with the ſame View as *York* deſigned, but indeed, as many ſay, not ſo much from the Deſire of having Sons, as becauſe he was enamoured of one of the Queen's Maids of Honour, born of low Parentage, whom he had an Inclination to take for his Wife, this Deſign of his being unknown to *York*, and to every one elſe. But when his Intention began to be diſcovered, or conjectured, Enamoured of *Anne Bullen*.

A. D. 1528. it was out of *York*'s Power to diſſuade him from making a Divorce, becauſe he would not have had Authority to adviſe him to the contrary of what he had before perſuaded him to do; and the King having already demanded the Opinions of Divines, Lawyers, and Religious, had received an Anſwer from many of them, that the Matrimony was invalid, either becauſe it was their Belief, or to gratify, as is cuſtomary with Men, the Prince.

Sends Ambaſſadors to the Pope with Offers. As ſoon therefore as the Pontiff was delivered out of Priſon, he appointed Ambaſſadors to ſolicit him to enter into the League, and to operate, as he ſhould ſee fit to direct them, for the Reſtitution of *Ravenna*, but principally to obtain Leave for making a Divorce, which he did not ſeek by way of Diſpenſation, but by way of Declaration that the Matrimony with *Catharine* was null. And the King perſuaded himſelf that the Pontiff, finding himſelf weak in Forces and Reputation, and without Support from other Princes, moved alſo by the freſh Obligation of the great Favours received from him

him by his Deliverance, would eaſily A. D. 1528.
conſent to his Deſire, eſpecially as he knew that the Cardinal of *York* had great Authority with him, becauſe he had always favoured his Intereſt, as he had before that of *Leo*. And that the Pontiff might not alledge as an Excuſe the Fear of giving Offence, by ſuch a Step, to *Cæſar*, the Son of a Siſter of *Catharine*, and to win him over by Liberality, he offered to pay, for his Security, a Guard of Four Thouſand Foot.

THE Pontiff heard this Propoſal; but tho' he conſidered the Importance of the Affair, and the great Scandal that might reſult from it, yet finding himſelf at *Orvieto*, and as yet neutral between the King of *France* and *Cæſar*, and in little Confidence with either of them, and therefore thinking it of no ſmall Importance to preſerve the Friendſhip of the King of *England*, he durſt not contradict this Demand, but rather ſhewed himſelf deſirous to pleaſe the King; yet by ſtill prolonging the Affair, and raiſing Difficulties againſt the Means that were propoſed, he kindled

Pope delays to gratify the King.

A. D. 1528. the Hopes and Importunities of the King and his Miniſters, which was the Source of many Evils, and continually increaſed.

Excuſes himſelf from entering into the League.

BUT when the Pontiff had heard *Vaudemont* and *Longueville*, and given them an Anſwer in general Terms, he ſent to the King of *France*, together with *Longueville*, the Biſhop of *Piſtoja*, to convince him, that, being deſtitute of Money, Forces, and Authority, his Declaration could be of no Service to the Confederates; that he could only aſſiſt in treating of Peace, for which End he had a Commiſſion to wait on *Cæſar*, and exhort him to it in ſevere Terms. But the King, tho' he was not diſpleaſed at the Neutrality of the Pontiff, yet, doubting that he ſent the Biſhop to treat of ſome other Affairs, did not give his Conſent; nor did *Cæſar* complain of the Pontiff, while he ſtood neuter.

State of the Confederate Fleet.

BUT at the time that *Lautrech* proceeded forwards, and that the Fleets were appointed to do the ſame, many Difficulties preſented themſelves againſt the latter. For

For the twelve *Venetian* Gallies, which had at firſt put into *Livorno*, having greatly ſuffered in the Enterpriſe on *Sardinia*, and by bad Weather, and Want of Proviſions, ſailed the Tenth of *February* from *Livorno* for *Corfu*, in order to refit. The *Venetians* however promiſed to ſend twelve others in their Room to join the *French* Fleet, which alſo had laboured under Difficulties, from what it had ſuffered at Sea, and by the Differences that aroſe between *Andrea Doria* and *Renzo da Ceri*, on account of which, tho' *Renzo* lay ſick at *Piſa*, it was deſigned that *Doria*, who had put into *Livorno* with all the Gallies, ſhould ſail from thence with his own Gallies for *Naples*; and that *Renzo* with the *French* Gallies, four of Fra *Bernardino*, and the four Gallies of the *Venetians*, which were all got together, ſhould attack *Sicily*. A. D. 1528.

Doria however with his Eight Gallies, and Eight others of the *French* Fleet, retired to *Genoa*, alledging that it was neceſſary to give the Gallies as well as himſelf ſome Repoſe, either becauſe this was

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really his Motive, or becauſe the Intereſts of the Affairs of *Genoa* inclined his Mind already to new Projects. For the *Genoeſe* having demanded of the King that he would grant them Leave to eſtabliſh a Free Government among themſelves, offering for the Gift of Liberty Two Hundred Thouſand Ducats, and the King having refuſed it, it was believed that *Doria*, who was the Author, or at leaſt the Promoter of theſe Demands, would not be pleaſed with the King's Acquiſition of *Sicily*, unleſs Liberty were granted to the *Genoeſe*. There was alſo publicly reported another important Cauſe of Miſunderſtanding; for the King having diſmembered the City of *Savona* from the *Genoeſe*, it was doubted that, within no long time, by the Favour of the King, and the Conveniency of the Port of *Savona*, the greateſt Part of the Commerce by Sea would be diverted thither; and when it was alſo made a Station for the Royal Navy, and had a Dock to build Ships for the King, *Genoa* would be deprived of Numbers of its Inhabitants and of its Riches. For theſe Reaſons *Doria* laboured hard with the

Genoeſe demand Liberty.

the King that *Savona* might be reſtored to its antient Subjection under the *Genoeſe*. A. D. 1528.

But the Affairs of *Lautrech* proceeded with greater Felicity than the maritime Expeditions. That General, as ſoon as he was arrived at *Aſcoli*, detached *Pietro Navarra* with his Foot towards *Aquila*, *Jeramo* and *Giulia Nova* having already ſubmitted at the Fame of his Coming. The Marquis of *Saluzzo* with his Troops followed him by the Way of *Lioneſſa*, and more behind One Hundred and Fifty Light Horſe, and Four Thouſand Foot of the Black Bands of the *Florentines* under *Oratio Baglione*. The *Venetians* had alſo promiſed to ſend him, without the Perſon of the Duke of *Urbino*, Four Hundred Light Horſe, and Four Thouſand Foot of the Troops which they had in the Territory of *Rome*; and, in Compenſation for the reſt with which they were bound to aſſiſt in the War againſt the Kingdom of *Naples*, they had agreed to pay each Month Twenty-three Thouſand Ducats, and declared that, with the Fleet deſigned for the Enterpriſe on *Sicily*, they would have *Lautrech* proceeds proſperouſly.

at

A. D. 1528. at Sea Thirty Six Ships. It manifeſtly however appearing that they were tired, they proceeded very ſlowly in their Expences, as did alſo the King of *France*; for at this time Advice came to *Lautrech* that the Aſſignment made him by the King, when he left *France*, of One Hundred and Thirty Thouſand Ducats each Month for the Charges of the War, and of which he had ſtill to receive about Two Hundred Thouſand, had been reduced to no more than Sixty Thouſand Crowns each Month, and that only for three Months enſuing. At this News *Lautrech* was in deep Deſpair, and complained that the King had no Senſe of Reaſon or Faith, nor was affected with the Remembrance and Example of his own Loſſes. For the King's diverting the Money and Forces that were to ſerve him for the Defence of the Dutchy of *Milan* to the Enterpriſe of *Ionterabia*, was the Cauſe, he ſaid, of his loſing that State.

Takes *Aquila*. THE Affair of *Aquila* ſucceeded happily; for, on the Approach of *Pietro Navarra*, the Prince of *Melfi* abandoned the Place,

Place, and the Biſhop of that City, Son of the Count *di Montorio*, entered it in the Name of the King of *France*. The *German* Foot of the *Venetians* alſo took Poſſeſſion of *Civitella*, a ſmall but ſtrong Town Seven Miles beyond the *Tronto*, by Capitulation, preventing Two Hundred *Spaniſh* Harquebuſiers, who were on their March to enter the Place. The Example of *Aquila* was followed by the whole Country of the *Abruzzi*, and the whole Kingdom of *Naples* would have done the ſame in a very ſhort Time, if the Imperial Army had not marched out of *Rome*. A. D. 1528.

THAT Army, after a multitude of Difficulties, and many Tumults which aroſe among them, becauſe the Soldiers demanded to be paid for the Time paſſed ſince the Deliverance of the Pontiff, marched out of *Rome* on the Seventeenth of *February*; a Day of very great Breathing to the *Roman* People after ſuch long Sufferings, if, immediately after their Departure, there had not entered the Abbot of *Farfa*, and others of the *Orſini*, with the Peaſants of their Territories, who did very great Damages Imperialiſts quit *Rome*.

A. D. 1528. mages in the City for many Days together.

ROME was left ſpoiled by the Army not only of a great Part of its Inhabitants, with Numbers of Houſes deſolate and deſtroyed, but alſo of Statues, Columns, rare Stones, and many Ornaments of Antiquity. The *Germans* however unwilling to leave the Place without the Money of two Pays, (for the *Spaniards* conſented to go without another Payment) the Pontiff, who was deſirous that *Rome* ſhould be evacuated, was neceſſitated to pay them Twenty Thouſand Ducats more, which he payed under Pretence of freeing the two Cardinals Hoſtages; and after this they received Twenty Thouſand under the Name of the *Roman* People, it being queſtioned whether theſe too were not paid by the Pontiff, though under this Name to give the leſs Cauſe of Complaint to *Lautrech*, who however complained very grievouſly that the Pontiff by his Money had been the Cauſe of the Departure of the Army from *Rome*, by which a moſt manifeſt Victory was reduced to the dubious Events of War.

War. There marched out of *Rome*, as it is reported, One Thouſand Five Hundred Horſe, Four Thouſand *Spaniſh* Foot, and between Two and Three Thouſand *Italians*, and Five Thouſand *German* Foot; ſo greatly were theſe laſt diminiſhed by the Peſtilence! *A. D.* 1528. Their Number.

The Departure of the Imperial Army from *Rome* conſtrained *Lautrech*, who elſe would have taken the moſt direct Road to *Naples*, to go a longer Way about through *Puglia*, on that Side towards the Sea, becauſe of the Difficulty of conveying the Artillery through the Mountains, if he ſhould meet with Oppoſition from the Enemy in thoſe Places, and much more for the ſake of furniſhing himſelf with Proviſions, that he might not come to want them if he ſhould be neceſſitated to ſtop the Courſe of Victory at the Walls of *Naples*. He proceeded therefore to *Civita di Chieti*, the Capital of the *Hither Abruzzi* (for the River *Peſcara* divides the *Hither* from the *Farther Abruzzi*) where *Sermona*, and many other Towns of that Country ſubmitted to him, and with *Lautrech* purſues his Conqueſts.

A. D. 1528. with ſo great an Inclination, either out of Affection to the Name of the *French*, or Hatred to that of the *Spaniards*, that almoſt all the Places anticipated their Submiſſion before the Army approached within twenty or thirty Miles of them. He proceeded however with more Slowneſs than he might have done, in order to advance forward with the greater Steadineſs and Security. And it was believed that, to ſecure himſelf of collecting, during all *March*, the Revenue of the Duty on Wool in *Puglia*, which amounted to Eighty Thouſand Ducats, and was levied in five Towns, he was to have ſent thither *Pietro Navarra* with his Foot, from whoſe odd Way of Management, which *Lautrech* was neceſſitated to bear with, there was not much Order in the Army.

Progreſs of the *French* Army.

BUT *Lautrech* advancing from *Guaſto*, and informed that a Part of the Enemy's Army, joined by the Prince of *Melfi* with One Thouſand *German* Foot of thoſe brought by Don *Carlo* the Viceroy from *Spain*, and by Two Thouſand *Italian* Foot that had marched out of *Aquila*, were come

come to *Nocera*, forty Miles diſtant from *Termini* towards the Sea-coaſt, and another Part to *Campo Baſſo*, thirty Miles from *Termini*, on the High Road to *Naples*, ordered forward *Pietro Navarra* with his Foot, and he himſelf on the laſt of *February* arrived at *Serra*, eighteen Miles diſtant from *Termini*, from whence on the fourth of *March* he proceeded to *San Severo*. But *Pietro Navarra* advancing forwards entered in one Day into *Nocera*, and the next into *Foggia*, entering through one Gate, when the *Spaniards*, who had retired to *Troja*, *Barletta*, and *Manfredonia*, were about to enter in at another; and this Acquiſition furniſhed the Army with a Sufficiency of Proviſions. A. D. 1528.

Lautrech had with him in all Four Hundred Lances, and Twelve Thouſand Foot, tho' none of the choiceſt Troops; but he was to be joined by the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, who marched before all, the Troops of the *Venetians*, and the Black Bands of the *Florentines*, which laſt were greatly deſired by *Lautrech*; for as they were a Body of Infantry as famous for their Dexterity Number of *Lautrech's* Army.

A. D. 1528. terity and Boldneſs in Aſſaults, as any Infantry at that time in *Italy*, they ſerved as a Seaſoning to his Army, in which were firm Troops, and ſteady in Fight.

Motions of the Armies.

But *Lautrech* underſtanding by the Report of *Pietro Navarra*, whom he had ſent to view the Situation, that in and about *Troja* were Five Thouſand *Germans*, Five Thouſand *Spaniards*, and Three Thouſand Five Hundred *Italians*, and finding himſelf unable to keep the Field, becauſe of the exceſſive Cold, on the Eighth of *March* removed with all the Foot and Light Horſe to *Nocera*, and put the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, juſt then arrived, with the Men at Arms, and a Thouſand Foot into *Foggia*, declaring that he would come to a Battle if an Opportunity offered, both for other Reaſons, and becauſe, his Appointments from the King being diminiſhed, he could not long ſupport the Charges of the War; and he left the Ambaſſadors, and the People unfit for War, with a ſmall Guard, in *San Severo*. Thus he thought himſelf in a ſecure Situation, and under no Neceſſity to fight, unleſs with Advantage;

tage; and he was in no Want of Proviſi- A. D. 1528.
ons, tho' there was a Scarcity of Meat. On the Twelfth of *March* he took the Field again three Miles beyond *Nocera*, and four Miles from *Troja*, for *Nocera* and *Barletta*, which are twelve Miles diſtant from one another, are but eight Miles diſtant from *Troja*; and the Imperialiſts, who had aſſembled almoſt all the Troops which were in *Manfredonia* and *Barletta*, and had plenty of Proviſions in *Troja*, tho' the Soldiers, except the *German* Foot, were not paid, ſallied out to ſkirmiſh; the next Day they took the Field without Artillery in a ſtrong Poſt on the Hill of *Troja*. On the Fourteenth *Lautrech* ſurrounded that Hill on the upper Quarter which looks ſouthward towards the Mountain, and turning his Face to *Troja* began to aſcend, and gaining an Eminence, after a great Struggle, made a Lodgment which commanded theirs, and with the Fire of his Cannon conſtrained them to retire Part into *Troja*, Part on the Back of it, taking Poſſeſſion of their Camp, ſo that *Troja* and the Imperial Army remained between the *French* Army and *San Severo*. This

A. D. 1528. Situation rendered it difficult for the Imperialiſts to receive the Succours that might be expected from *Naples*, and in a great meaſure alſo obſtructed the Conveyance of Proviſions to them, though, as they were diſcharged of Baggage and uſeleſs People, they did not conſume much; and, on the other hand, they prevented the Conveyance of Proviſions from *San Severo* to the *French* Camp, and alſo kept in danger *San Severo*, which they might attack with Part of their Troops without being diſcovered by the *French*.

Situation of the Armies.

THE Armies ſtanding thus encamped, the *French* beyond *Troja* towards the Mountain, and the Imperialiſts at the Quarter on this Side towards *Nocera* at the Back of the Town upon a well fortified Spot, and the greateſt Part of the circumjacent Places being in the Hands of the *French*, they remained in this Situation until the Nineteenth, ſpending the Night in perpetual Alarms, and the Day in Skirmiſhes, in one of which *Martio Colonna* was taken Priſoner; and in the mean time the Convoys of Proviſions from

San

San Severo and *Foggia* to the *French* Camp were frequently intercepted, which occaſioned ſome Scarcity, and made it neceſſary to appoint large Eſcorts. A. D. 1528.

IN this Juncture, the Imperial Generals conſulting together what Meaſures to take, the Marquis *del Guaſto* adviſed a Battle, becauſe the *French* Army increaſed every Day, and their own diminiſhed. But more Deference was paid to the Counſel of *Alarcone*, who repreſented that there was more Hope of Victory in ſtanding on the Defenſive, and temporiſing, than in truſting to the Arbitration of Fortune. On the 19th the Imperialiſts, to avoid Annoyance from the Enemy's Artillery, retired into *Troja*; but afterwards, having fortified their Camp againſt the Artillery, they returned thither in good ſeaſon, and unluckily returned back again into *Troja*. But on the Twenty-firſt at Break of Day they broke up, and marched towards the Mountain to *Ariano*, which was a good Day's March, leaving in *Troja* a Sufficiency of Proviſions, contrary to the Expectations of the *French*, who, becauſe they had ſecured the Paſſes by Imperialiſts decamp.

A. D. 1528. which they muſt have been conveyed, had vainly promiſed themſelves the Victory.

THE Reaſon of their Decampment was ſuppoſed to be, either a Deſign to draw the *French* into a Place where they would ſuffer for Want of Proviſions, or the Advice which they had received that the Black Bands were expected in the Camp the next Day. Theſe Troops, as they proceeded forwards, had in their March taken up their Quarters in *Aquila*, where, without having received any Injury or Provocation, but meerly for a greedy Deſire of Robbing, they villainouſly ſacked that City.

Black Bands plunder *Aquila*.

Lautrech on the 22d encamped at *Lioneſſa* on the River *Ofanto*, called by the *Latins Aufidus*, Six Miles from *Aſcoli*, and ſent the Black Bands and *Pietro Navarra* with his Foot and two Pieces of Cannon to beſiege *Melfi*. Here, a ſmall Breach being made, the *Gaſcons* approached the Wall, and the Black Bands, with greater Fury, contrary to the Orders of their Officers, did the ſame; and each Nation ſtriving

ſtriving to outdo the other, their Flanks being expoſed to the continued Fire of Harquebuſes, they were repulſed with the Death of many of the *Gaſcons*, and of about Sixty of the Black Bands; and the ſame Evening they ſuſtained almoſt an equal Loſs, having returned, when it was late, after the Battery had been continued, to give another Aſſault. But in the Night there arrived in the Camp a freſh Supply of Artillery ſent by *Lautrech*, with which the Beſiegers having the next Morning erected two great Batteries, the Peaſants, who were numerous in the Place, began, out of Fear, to be tumultuous, and the Soldiers, who were about 600, ſeized with Apprehenſions of the Danger of the Tumult, abandoned the Defence; ſo that the Beſiegers entered, and put all the Peaſants, and Men of the Town to the Sword, the Soldiers with the Prince retiring into the Caſtle, where ſoon after they ſurrendered, as the Beſiegers ſaid, at Diſcretion, tho', as the others pretended, with an Exception to Life. The Prince with a few of his Men were ſaved, all the reſt were put to the Sword, the Place ſacked, and the Kil-

A. D. 1528.

Melfi taken and ſacked by the *French*

A. D. 1528. led amounted to Three Thouſand Men. In the Town was found good Store of Proviſions, which was a mighty Relief to the *French*, who, by their ill-providing themſelves, laboured under the greateſt Neceſſity in *Puglia* of what that Country produces in the greateſt Abundance.

On the 24th the *Spaniards* departed from *Ariano*, and halted at *Tripalda*, Twenty-five Miles from *Naples* on the direct Road, and Forty Miles from the *Ofanto*, where they were joined by the Viceroy, the Prince of *Salerno*, and *Fabritio Maramaus*, with Three Thouſand Foot, and Thirteen Pieces of Cannon; and it was ſaid that *Alarcone* was marched out of *Naples* with Two Thouſand Foot, to protect the Collection of the Duty of Wool. *Lautrech* however remained on the *Ofanto* till he had ſupplied himſelf with a great Store of Proviſions, and all his Troops were encamped between *Aſcoli* and *Melfi*; and, ſince the Calamity of *Melfi*, *Barletta*, *Trani*, and all the circumjacent Towns, except *Manfredonia*, where was a Garriſon of One Thouſand Foot, had ſubmitted to him:

him: And having detached *Pietro Navarra* with Four Thouſand Foot to attack the Caſtle of *Venoſa*, the Garriſon conſiſting of Two Hundred and Fifty *Spaniards*, after a brave Reſiſtance, ſurrendering at Diſcretion, he kept the Officers Priſoners, and diſmiſſed the Soldiers without Arms. He had alſo taken ſuch Meaſures that the Duty on the *Puglian* Wool was collected for him; but, on account of the Impediments occaſioned by the War, it did not amount to half the uſual Sum. While he lay here encamped the Proveditor *Piſano* arrived with the *Venetian* Troops, in Number about Two Thouſand Foot. Thus did the General employ himſelf in ſecuring Plenty of Proviſions in his Camp, which was facilitated by the Reduction of *Aſcoli* taken by the *Venetians*.

A. D. 1528.

Lautrech makes Conqueſts

In this Situation of Affairs *Lautrech*, aſſuming Spirit from his proſperous Succeſſes, preſſed the Pontiff in a haughty Strain to declare for the League. His Holineſs had removed his Court to *Viterbo*; for tho' the *Viterbians* had at firſt, by the Procurement of *Ottaviano degli Spiriti*, re-

Affairs of the Pope.

A. D. 1528. ſolved not to admit his Governor, yet they complied afterwards out of Fear. At the ſame time *Veſpaſiano Colonna* dying, and appointing, in his laſt Will, that his only Daughter *Iſabella* ſhould be married to *Ippolito de' Medici*, the Pope ſeized on all the Towns that he poſſeſſed in the Territory of *Rome*, though *Aſcanio* pretended that, on Failure of the male Line of *Proſpero Colonna*, they belonged to him.

Monopoli ſurrendered to the *Venetians.*

In the mean time *Monopoli* had ſurrendered to the *Venetians*, for whom, according to the laſt Convention made with the King of *France*, were to be conquered all thoſe Ports of the Kingdom of *Naples* of which they werein Poſſeſſion before the Defeat they received from King *Lewis* in the *Ghiaradadda*.

Duke of *Ferrara* ſends his Son into *France.*

This Proſperity of the *French* induced the Duke of *Ferrara* to ſend his Son into *France*, to perfect the Matrimony which before, when he refuſed alſo to be General of the League, he had purpoſely delayed.

But

A. D. 1528.

BUT *Cæſar*, in ſo great a Danger of the *Neapolitan* Kingdom, providing no Supplies of Troops from *Spain*, for from thoſe Parts he had ſent no more than Six Hundred Foot, of no great Service, to *Sicily*, had given Orders that a freſh Body of *German* Infantry, under the Duke of *Brunſwic*, ſhould march from *Germany* into *Italy* for the Relief of that Kingdom; and theſe Troops were prepared with the greater Sollicitude, in proportion as it was underſtood that the Progreſs of *Lautrech* occaſioned a greater Neceſſity of Succours.

Cæſar prepares Aſſiſtance from *Germany*.

TO oppoſe the Coming of theſe Forces, that they might not confound the Hopes of Victory, it was appointed, by the common Conſent of the Kings of *France* and *England*, and of the *Venetians*, that Monſeigneur *Francis de St. Pol*, of the Family of *Bourbon*, ſhould paſs into *Italy* with Four Hundred Lances, Five Hundred Light Horſe, Five Thouſand *French* Foot, Two Thouſand *Swiſs*, and Two Thouſand *Germans*, in order to follow the Enemies if they marched towards the Kingdom of *Naples*, or, if not, to make War, in conjunction

Preparations of the League in Oppoſition.

A. D. 1528. junction with the Troops of the *Venetians* and of *Franceſco Sforza*, againſt *Milan*. For the Maintenance of this Army were allotted Sixty Thouſand Ducats each Month, of which Thirty Thouſand were to be contributed by the King of *England*, and the *Venetians*, in a Council of the Pregadi, had made a Decree to levy Ten Thouſand Foot.

Miſerable State of *Milan*. AT this time the City of *Milan*, by the ſevere Government of *Antonio da Leva*, was in Extremities and miſerable Subjection. For, in order to provide for the Payment of the Soldiers, he had taken into his Hands all the Proviſions of the City, and making of them a public Magazine, and ſelling them out on his own Account, raiſed Money to pay them, all the Inhabitants, to avoid dying of Hunger, being forced to buy them at what Price he pleaſed, which the Poor wanting Means to do, many periſhed in almoſt every Street; and the Money raiſed this Way not being ſufficient to ſatisfy the *German* Soldiers who were diſtributed into Quarters in the Houſes, they plagued the Landlords every Day

Day with new Extortions, keeping thoſe who did not pay them in Chains; and be- A. D. 1528.
cauſe, to avoid thoſe Barbarities, and intolerable Burdens, many were fled, and were continually flying from the City, notwithſtanding the Severity of the Orders, and the Vigilance of the Guards, Proceſſes were ordered for confiſcating the Goods of the Abſent, who were ſo numerous, that, to avoid the Tediouſneſs of Writing, they cauſed them to be put in Print. The Nobles who remained were very poor and ill-clothed, and thoſe Parts of the City that were formerly the moſt frequented were now over-run with Nettles and Briars.

THE Author of ſo many bitter Calamities, and ſevere Puniſhments, was however very fortunate in all his Undertakings: For the Governor of *Mus*, in the Service of the League, having laid Siege to *Lecco* with Six Hundred Foot, and taken away the Shipping, that the *Spaniards* who were in *Como* might not ſuccour the Place by the Way of the Lake, *Antonio da Leva*, having ordered the Foot from

A. D. 1528. from *Novara*, marched out of *Milan*, and at the Diſtance of Fifteen Miles made a Halt with the *Germans*; and, having made himſelf Maſter of the Fort of *Olgina*, ſituated on the *Adda*, which had been taken before by the Governor of *Mus*, he detached *Filippo Torniello* with the *Italian* and *Spaniſh* Foot to the Relief of *Lecco*, which lies on the other Bank of the Lake, where *Mus*, with the Aſſiſtance of the Troops ſent him by the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan*, and with Artillery furniſhed by the *Venetians*, had ſeized on all the Paſſes, and fortified them, tho' difficult of themſelves by the Ruggedneſs of the Places, and of the Mountains. But the Imperialiſts having ſeized an Eminence oppoſite to *Lecco*, and overlooking that Place, after they had in vain attempted a Paſſage in ſeveral Places, at laſt forced a Paſs guarded by the Troops of the *Venetians*, whom the Governor, either becauſe he repoſed leſs Confidence in their Valour, or to expoſe them to leſs Danger, had poſted in the moſt rugged Places. On this the Governor with his Men and Artillery getting on board the Veſſels ſaved

ſaved his Troops, there being ſome Suſpicion that the *Venetians* had made but a ſlight Defence for the Sake of gratifying the Duke of *Milan*, who would not be pleaſed that *Lecco* ſhould be taken by the Governor; who, however, not long after, that he might obtain by Agreement what he could not compaſs by Arms, went over to the Imperialiſts, and was by *Antonio Leva*, in conſequence of the Treaty, put in Poſſeſſion of *Lecco* and other Places, obtaining alſo of *Geronimo Morone*, who by his Letters had been the Author of this Negotiation, the Ceſſion of his Rights. By this Agreement *Antonio da Leva*, ſtruggling with Famine, obtained a very ſeaſonable Relief both in Proviſions and Money; for the Governor, aſpiring after higher Matters, aſſumed afterwards the Title of Marquis, paid Thirty Thouſand Ducats, and ſent Three Thouſand Sacks of Corn to *Milan*.

A. D. 1528. *Antonio da Leva relieves Lecco.*

In the mean time *Lautrech* advanced towads *Naples*, and on the Third Day of *April* was at *Rocca Manarda*, leaving for the

A. D. 1528. the Security of *Puglia*, where only *Manfredonia* held out for *Cæſar*, 50 Men at Arms, 200 Light Horſe, and between 1500 and 2000 Foot, all Troops of the *Venetians*. But the Imperial Army, reſolving to attend only to the Defence of *Naples* and *Gaeta*, abandoned all the circumjacent Country, after they had ſacked *Nola*, and conveyed the Proviſions that were in *Capua* to *Naples*, in order to deprive the Enemy of Subſiſtence, and poſted itſelf on the Mountain of *San Martino*, from whence it afterwards entered into *Naples*, conſiſting of Ten Thouſand *German* and *Spaniſh* Foot, the *Italian* Foot being all diſbanded, except Six Hundred, who ſerved under *Fabritio Maramaus*, for *Sciarra Colonna* with his Foot was marched into the *Abruzzi*.

Imperialiſts retire to *Naples*.

THERE remained but very few Inhabitants in *Naples*; for all thoſe of Subſtance or Quality were retired to *Iſchia*, *Capri*, and other neighbouring Iſles. The Place was ſaid to be provided with Corn for a little more than two Months, but of Fleſh and Forage there was but a ſmall Quantity.

Capua,

Capua, *Nola*, *Acerra*, *Averſa*, and all the circumjacent Towns ſurrendered to *Lautrech*, who halted four days with the Army at the Abbey of *Acerra*, ſeven Miles from *Naples*, having proceeded, and ſtill advancing, but ſlowly, becauſe of waiting for the Proviſions, which were hindered by the bad Roads, and by the Rains, which had filled the Plains with Water; and he had need to be provided with very large Quantities, ſince it is reported that in his Army, according to the modern Corruption of Military Diſcipline, were above Twenty Thouſand Horſes, and Eighty Thouſand Men, Two Thirds uſeleſs People. From this Place the General ſent *Simone Tebaldi*, a *Roman*, with One Hundred and Fifty Light Horſe, and Five Hundred *Corſicans*, not in Pay, come over from the Imperial Camp, to poſſeſs himſelf of *Calabria*.

A. D. 1528.

Capua, &c. ſurrender to *Lautrech*.

By this time alſo *Filippino Doria*, with Eight Gallies of *Andrea Doria*, and Two Ships, was arrived on the Coaſt of *Naples*, and had taken a Ship laden with Wheat, and with his Cannon diſlodged the

Naples blocked by Sea.

A. D. 1528. the Imperialiſts from the *Maddalena*. But tho' a little after he took two other Ships laden with Wheat, and was the Cauſe of many Inconveniences to the Enemy, yet his Gallies were not ſufficient to keep the Port of *Naples* entirely blocked up. Wherefore *Lautrech* requeſted that the Sixteen Gallies of the *Venetians* might join him, which, after they had been ſlowly refitted at *Corfu*, were arrived in the Port of *Trani*. But the *Venetians*, tho' already Maſters of the Cities of *Trani* and *Monopoli*, yet, preferring their own Profit to that of others, tho' all things depended on the Conqueſt of *Naples*, delayed to ſend them, becauſe they would firſt reduce *Pulignano*, *Otranto*, and *Brindiſi*.

On the Seventeenth of *April*, *Lautrech* encamped at *Caviano* five Miles from *Naples*, and the ſame Day the Imperialiſts, who abounded in light Horſe, their Diligence and Sollicitude getting ſo much the better of the Negligence of the *French*, took from them a great Quantity of Proviſions, which they wanted; and had fortified *Sant' Ermo*, ſeated on the Mountain of

San

San Martino, and overlooking *Naples*, in order to prevent the *French* from taking the Advantage of that Poſt to annoy the Place with their Cannon, and becauſe, being Maſters of that Hill, they could almoſt ſecure the greater Part of the City from the Approaches of the *French*, who, on the other hand, had ſome Hopes given them by the Diſcord among their Enemies, the Marquis *del Guaſto* having, for ſome private Cauſes, wounded Count *di Potenza*, and killed his Son. *A. D.* 1528. Imperialiſts prepare for a vigorous Defence.

On the 21ſt the *French* Army advanced to *Caſoria*, within Three Miles of *Naples*, on the Road to *Averſa*, and the ſame Day was a Skirmiſh under the Walls of *Naples*, in which was killed *Migliau*, the Perſon who had with much Vehemence oppoſed the Releaſement of the Pontiff, for which he himſelf had carried Orders from *Cæſar* to the Generals. *Migliau* killed.

On the 22d *Lautrech* encamped a Mile and half from *Naples*, where he prohibited Skirmiſhing as uſeleſs; and *Pozzuolo* had already ſurrendered to him. *Pozzuolo* ſurrendered.

A. D. 1528.

Lautrech comes before Naples.

At laſt, on *April* 29, the Army came before the City of *Naples*, and encamped between *Poggio Reale*, a very magnificent Palace, built by *Alfonſo* the Second of *Aragon*, while he was Duke of *Calabria*, and the Mountain of *San Martino*, the Troops extending themſelves within half a Mile of *Naples*. *Lautrech* himſelf took up his Quarters more forward than *Poggio Reale*, at a Country Seat of the Duke of *Monte Alto*, in which Place he fortified himſelf with Intrenchments that ſtretched towards the Road to *Capua*; an Encampment made in a very ſtrong Situation, and by which he cut off from *Naples* the Conveniency of the Aqueducts that come from *Poggio Reale*. From this Place he deſigned to make afterwards another Lodgement more forwards, on an Eminence under the Hill of *Sant' Ermo*, in order to ſtraiten *Naples* the more, and to annoy the City from a nearer Poſt. But to form a clear Idea of theſe Paſſages, it ſeems neceſſary to deſcribe the Situation of the City of *Naples*, and of the Country about it.

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